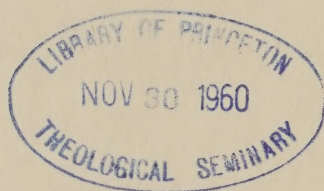
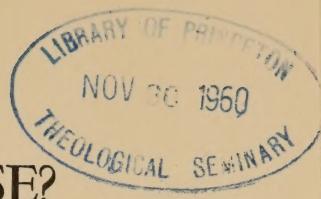


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FOR WHAT PURPOSE?



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An Angry American's Appeal to Reason

By JAMES P. SPEER, II

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INTRODUCTION

It is, I think, a poor book which needs a special introduction by a man other than the author. Mr. Speer's book emphatically does not fall into that category and therefore the introduction will be brief. He makes unusually effective use of a familiar technique: that is, of writing meditations, elaborations, or exhortations, based on scriptural texts. I am especially pleased at the emphasis he gives to the treatment of war beginning with his fourteenth chapter.

War in the thermonuclear age means the destruction of civilization if not of our human race. To find alternatives for war for settling our disputes is imperative. The record of the Christian church in this matter ever since Constantine saw in the cross a sign of conquest has been mostly bad.

I shall never forget an interview I had many years ago with the distinguished jurist, Judge Julian W. Mack, then a member of a commission to deal with conscientious objectors in prison after the end of World War I.

In the course of a discussion, involving, among other things, a Jewish religious conscientious objector, Judge Mack said: "It is hard for me on the basis of the Old Testament to see how a Jew can be a religious objector. But I confess I can't see how a Christian can be anything else. It is to me the strangest irony of history that the belligerent tribes of the West accepted a pacifist Jewish peasant not only as their prophet but as their God."

The irony arises from the fact that although the acceptance of Christianity may have done something to ameliorate some past wars, thermonuclear war is the invention of a nominally Christian nation. At a time when we are told that church membership has reached a new high level in the United States, Christians, like their Jewish brethren, read the words of Isaiah, Micah or Jesus and then calmly continue to make weapons capable of more indiscriminate destruction than the worst of ancient conquerors inflicted.

If I were in a discussion circle considering some of Mr. Speer's chapters, I might argue certain points. That is not important. What is vital is that we should begin to think about the issues Mr. Speer raises so effectively.

NORMAN THOMAS

New York City

This book is dedicated to Vernon Nash and Clarence Streit—prophets who have gone before—and to those who will come after them.

It is not dedicated to Winston Churchill, Paul Reynaud, Jawahrlal Nehru, Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower and the other statesmen who have seen the truth but lacked the courage in office to do anything about it.

It is directed to those who tonight are attending Saint Peter's Bingo in South Haven, Massanecticut; who are kneeling during the prayer meeting at the First Baptist Church of Oiltown, Texahoma; who are drinking bonded bourbon at the annual members-and-wives party of the Kiwanis Club in Palo Bajo, Orefornia; and to all the good people who countenanced our last wars, fought in them, and are furnishing the breeding stock for the next one.

Santa Fe, New Mexico

JAMES P. SPEER, II

I *For this was I born. For this came I into the world.*
 —JESUS OF NAZARETH

Jesus knew why he was born. Do you know why you were born? Do you know for what purpose you came into the world?

You have asked yourself the question. It is a noble question. Some day soon you must supply an answer.

You are an American. You are still free. You live well. You are not oppressed, hungry, or deprived. You are the heir of the ages.

You owe a great debt to the Past, but you can pay it only to the Future.

Your answer must be a significant one.

For what purpose came you into the world? How are you to be justified?

II

Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread? And your labor for that which satisfieth not?

—ISAIAH.

Why do you lead a life which isn't satisfying to you? How many lives do you expect to live? Will you pass this way again?

Do you really think it is enough that you earn a living, get married, and raise children who have no more idea than you do as to why they are here?

Will you go along, making a sluggish response to any stimulus that comes your way? Will you drop a dollar in the collection plate and consider your religious duties done? Will you give your daughter a lift to Girl Scout meeting and think that her future is taken care of? Will you vote for the names you remember and call yourself a good citizen? Will you go to war when drafted and feel that your patriotic duty has been carried out? Will you send your wife flowers and congratulate yourself that she married a good man?

You do these things, but you know they are not real. You know you are not living. You know you are skating along on the superficialities of life. You know you are not satisfied.

Do you belong to organizations that are trivial and petty? Are you tired of the bickering over inconsequentialities? Have you ever felt the urge to stand up and say "Let's disband!" Has it occurred to you that an organization always reflects its lowest common denominator? Has it come home to you that most organizations—from the church to the veterans' post—stifle and mislead the individual? Does it seem to you that you have asked for bread and been given a stone?

You see all this. But you haven't done anything about it. You

have become a fatalist. But an American has no excuse for being a fatalist. Fatalism may be natural to some peoples. But in an American it is pure cowardice.

You go along. You know your blessings but you ascribe them to luck. You know your shortcomings, but you blame them on Fate.

You drink too much, gamble to the limit, or go a-whoring. You live as an animal. You are not a human being.

You glue your eyes to the television set, you listen to soap operas, you read cheap novels. You live other people's fictitious lives. You are a vegetable; not a human being.

You look at your house, and want a bigger one. You look at your car, and wish for a better one. You look at your wife, and wonder why you married her. You look at your children, and wonder why you had them.

You are bored, frustrated, frightened, inadequate, covetous.

Occasionally, you reform. You sweep your house clean and go forth to help the church, work with civic clubs, and take an interest in politics. But you find that the church has watered its great message down into a petty moralism; that the civic groups attempt nothing of consequence; and that the political parties are raddled bitches. You go back to your house and take seven devils with you, and your state is worse than it was before.

You are disillusioned. Your personal reform movement has come to nothing. You sought comfort but found none. You are ready to curse God, and die.

III

*And a man shall be as an hiding place from the wind,
and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a
dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.*

—ISAIAH.

Of the things needed to keep people alive, there is not enough to go around. You eat food that would enable another man to live. You wear the clothes that would keep him warm. You sleep under a roof that would shelter him from the rain. You use the drugs that would permit him to survive illness. If your existence cannot be justified you have it in your hands to end it at any time. But, before you do that, examine the terms of the human condition.

To begin with, you are not responsible for the fact that you came into the world. If, however, you stay here, you are responsible. You must justify your existence.

You received life empty of any meaning. It is up to you to give your life meaning. This is your free choice. You may throw it away for nothing, spend it for things of little significance, or fill it up with meaning. An animal lives for appetite. A vegetable lives for sun and shadow. A man lives for something else.

The essential tragedy of a man's life is that he must live it in the expectation of death. You will go down to the grave, and your mind turns away from the thought. But if your life were unlimited, how could it have meaning? It is because your life is limited that it can have meaning. And in this you can have high courage and see great opportunity.

Are you content to be a creature of chance, without purpose in your

life? What memories will you take to the grave? Of a life thrown away or spent on small things, or of a life sold at a great price?

As an American you have been familiar with the Christian God and the promise of an eternal reward—a life hereafter. But whether you are agnostic, atheist, Christian, Jew, or something else, you cannot be sure of either God or eternal life. You can never, never be sure; that is a part of the human condition.

Examine the possibilities from two viewpoints.

Suppose you were stricken tonight on the road to Damascus, and when you woke up you were utterly positive from the top to the bottom of your being that Jesus was right and that there is waiting for you another life of a beauty and joy indescribable, provided you meet your challenges in this life in the way that Jesus would have you to do. If this happened, there is little doubt what you would do. You would do what you ought to do and you would become what you ought to be. You would live a triumphant life and you would welcome “death” with open arms whenever it chose to come.

Suppose, on the contrary, that you were stricken tonight on the road to Damascus, and when you woke up you were permeated throughout your whole being with the absolute assurance, beyond peradventure of hope, that Jesus and the prophets before him were wrong—misled, bemused, victims of wishful thinking—and that there is no God in heaven, much less any life for you beyond the grave. No guidance, no force for good, no reward, no punishment—just blank, black, eternal extinction.

Even if this happened you would still have the problem of what you do with your life. Because you are a sentient being, a man. A man who can imagine, understand, dream, reason, be gentle, kind, humorous, who can feel all shades and complexities of emotion—a being who, so far as you know, is incomparably the highest form of life in the universe. Let the Hereafter be a bitter joke. And if God is gone, then it may be that your responsibility is even greater.

You would still be responsible for the kind of world you live in—especially because you are an American. You would still have to try to fashion the kind of world your children and your children’s children will inherit. For perhaps they are your Hereafter. Even in a godless universe, right does not become wrong; good is still distinguishable from bad; kindness is still the sublimest virtue. And because you know these things, you must maintain them. Your dignity as an individual human being—differentiated in a thousand ways from any other living thing—requires it.

Inasmuch as man created God in his own image, he must uphold the attributes he gave to God. And you, if you are betrayed by all things else, you will still have the magnificent example of Jesus of Nazareth to guide you. There was a man.

It is a no small thing to be a man. Be a fool; be misled; be bemused; but be a man.

You can never be sure that there is no God. You can never be sure that there isn't a life hereafter. And you can always be sure that kindness is good.

If you would give your life meaning, you will take the glorious Chance.

You will do as a man ought to do. You will not throw your life away or spend it for a pittance. You will sell your life as dearly as you may.

IV

*Faith is the substance of things hoped for;
the evidence of things not seen.*—HEBREWS.

You may take great comfort, during the darkling hours of an uncertain faith, in this definition. For this definition is designed for men, not for saints.

You are not asked to justify yourself by having faith for faith's own sake, because you are gullible or because that is the price of a ticket to everlasting life. You are invited, instead, to make an assumption. The assumption is that the way of life described by the words and deeds of the great men of the Testaments is the right way. And then, if you accept this as a working hypothesis or theory, you are invited to wager your life that the assumption is correct and that you will justify your existence if you take the bet.

This kind of faith is only partly belief. The other part is hope. You are given no guarantee. You are invited to accept the same risk that the great men before you have taken—the risk that the whole assumption may be wrong—and to go out and sell your life at the highest possible price. You are called upon to run with patience the race that is set before you—to meet the great challenge of your own day. This is to be your justification.

There is nothing for sure. This, again, is a part of the human condition. But the man who wrote Hebrews is making you a sporting proposition. You are not asked to *believe*, but you are asked to take a chance and to *do*.

And there is a life force, apart perhaps from religion, and it will go on and on. If you would not have it bestialize you and your children, you must see to it.

V

Thou hast faith, and I have works: show me thy faith without thy works, and I will show thee my faith by my works.

—JAMES THE JUST.

Since you cannot believe all that the church expects you to believe, much less take seriously her petty moralisms, you must look for another way of justifying yourself.

Here you must take recognition of a condition which you probably cannot attain. If a man is so strong in the faith that he communes with God and approaches sainthood, then he is justified by that faith. He is justified by “being” a rare soul. His “doing” is simply a consequence or reflection of his faith. But if you are not so strong in the faith, another way is pointed out by James. This other way is justification by works. This is the gamble offered to you in Hebrews.

James felt strongly about this. He said “Ye see then how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only.” He went even further and suggested that works make a man lean and hungry and fuller of faith: “Seest thou how faith wrought with his works, and by works was faith made perfect?”

Do not disregard faith. Go into it as deeply and stay with it as constantly as you can. But don’t let your works wait upon your faith. If you do you may find that you are so wrapped up in yourself—your backslidings and shortcomings—that you won’t get on with the work that lies to hand. Steady communion with God is pretty difficult if you have a wife, children, and a job. That’s why the Catholics produce more saints—canonized or not—than the Protestants do. And even Saint Augustine could not have been very effective when he was in a sweat about some picayune sin he had committed as a child.

You have to get on with your Father's business. If you have decided that the life you have been living does not justify your continued existence; if you do not wish to stay in the coils of a middleclass state of being; if you feel that there are values which you have not appreciated; if you feel that sainthood, from your viewpoint, is essentially sterile because it is not likely to come to pass; if you believe that your justification must be great because you have received great things, then you must consider what is required of you.

VI

*What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do Justice,
love Mercy, and walk humbly with thy God.—PSALMS.*

This is all that God required of Saint Francis, John Huss, Martin Luther, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and Albert Schweitzer. That is all he required of those who were stoned, sawn asunder, slain with the sword, destitute, afflicted, and tormented. It was simply that these people felt keenly about injustice, loved mercy with a passion, and tried to do—personally—the things that they thought God wanted done.

These Great Ones of the past did not throw their lives away or spend them for picayunish things. They sold their lives at high prices. You may think you cannot command so high a price. Don't be so sure. You won't know what your upper reaches are until you get there. Jesus said "Greater things than these I have done will you do" and he was speaking to a very ordinary and ungifted group of men—his disciples. Yet, some of them went on to do quite well.

Certainly the world never needed real men worse than it does now. If Jesus appeared tomorrow morning in the streets of Seville, or Peking, or Moscow, or Chicago, and went about preaching in the same spirit of two thousand years ago, he would be in jail by sundown.

Jesus met the challenges of his day—and paid the price. He would meet the challenge of your day. But he is not here. He can work only through you. What will you do?

Wherefore are you justified?

VII

Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you: for everyone that asketh receiveth.—JESUS OF NAZARETH.

Whatever meaning you wish to give to your life, you can give it. Whatever you want most, you can have. If you wish something with all your heart, you will get it. For you will then become the image of what it takes to get it. But there are not three wishes, as in the fairy tales. There is just one. What will it be?

What is your soul's sincere desire? Is it a woman, a house, an automobile, the gift of oratory, a winning personality, a beautiful voice, wealth, high political office? Be careful what you wish. This is the moment of truth. For you can have what you wish.

In your deepest heart it is none of these. What you need most is what you want most. And as you go about the trivialities of your daily life, you wish for but one thing.

You want to be justified. You wish to find a reason. You want to know why you were born. You would know why you came into the world. For you are tired and sick to death of being less than you ought to be.

How can you make the great phrases of old ring true? You were called to greatness. You were created only a little lower than the angels. You were called to be a child of God. You were to inherit the world.

When you were young, these things were very real. When you were young, the colors of joy were bright and the colors of sadness were rich. And the future rolled out like a pageant of glory. Time beckoned and you went gladly to meet it.

But, then, what happened? You got caught up in your career. You found you could earn a living. You married, and begot children. The years passed by. The midstream of life has a strong current, and you went along with it. In the eddies you had pause to think: Whence came I, and whither do I go? But you went along.

And now you are on the shoals. What significance has your life had? Why were you born? For what came you into the world? What will you do with what is left of your life? What do you really want to do with your life?

You want to justify yourself. But how? What is the measure? How is it done? What, specifically, is required of you?

Is it enough that you live within the law? That you don't get drunk or sleep with other men's wives? No, you are not justified by merely living within the law. That is essentially sterile and empty.

How do you fill your life up? You are an American. You cannot be justified by toil. It is easier to make a living in your country than it is to starve. You didn't climb the mountains, explore the prairies and plow the soil. You didn't build the cities. You didn't create the good life. You inherited it. By accident of birth, you have access to all the good things of life. You were not a donor. You are a recipient. You have much leisure. How do you fill it up? How will you be justified?

You cannot keep faith with the Past except by keeping faith with the Future. You cannot measure your duty to your posterity except by computing your debt to the past. What is your debt to the past? What is its magnitude? How high must you look for your justification?

What must be your soul's sincere desire? What will you ask? What will be your one wish?

VIII

Freely ye have received, freely give.

—JESUS OF NAZARETH

Your debt to the past is great. Therefore your challenge to care for the future is likewise great.

You cannot justify yourself by picking around the edges of little problems. You must meet squarely the great challenge of your day.

You must not lose yourself in organizations which dabble languidly with problems of no consequence. For your responsibility is personal.

Even the apostles did not get much done so long as they sat around bickering with each other in Jerusalem. It was only after they split up and went their individual ways that they began to be what Jesus had expected of them.

You are advised in Hebrews to "lay aside every weight" before you run "the race set before you." Most organizations are dead weight. You must travel light, with one or two chosen companions, or alone.

If you justify yourself, you will meet the great challenge. If you meet the Challenge, you will become—of necessity—something of a revolutionary.

You will be a revolutionary because you will be trying to change things from the way they are to the way they ought to be.

Revolutionaries are not very popular. In the beginning they are considered silly but harmless fools. They are ridiculed. This will be hard for you to take. Later on, as they begin to succeed, revolutionaries are considered dangerous. They are often called "subversive." This will be hard for you to take too. You will be hated. Laws will be set up for you to break. You may have to break them. You may go to jail. Members of your own family may disavow you.

The life of a revolutionary is apt to be a painful one. That is the way all real progress has come about—through pain.

It is said that Jesus died for you. That is true, although perhaps not in the usual doctrinal sense. Jesus simply suffered the consequences of his own revolutionary teachings and acts. Actually, people have been suffering and dying for you for thousands of years.

Now it is your turn.

Peter denied Jesus three times at a critical juncture. Yet he went on to become Great. You will turn aside many times. You will boggle at the magnitude of your task. But you will go on and meet your challenge. For it will excite your imagination and command your perseverance. It is a challenge so important that every failure along the way will represent progress—every defeat will be a victory.

Your challenge is so exquisitely right, so desperately needed, so universally important—that you will be willing to buy it with your life.

To meet this challenge you will not have to take the wings of the morning and go to the uttermost parts of the sea. Indeed, you are required to stay where you are—unless and until there is a clear call to go elsewhere.

Your theater will be the world. But your stage will be your own community. You will be concerned with the world—the only natural geographic unit that you know—a planet named Earth. But your dealings will be with people—individual human beings, your neighbors, people who are little better or little worse than you, people who have the same problem you have, but who perhaps feel it less keenly. You will be dealing with the minds of men. You will be attempting to change old ways of thinking into new ways of thinking. There is no harder task.

Whatever your theology, you will want your work to succeed—to be good, significant, enduring. Therefore you will use Jesus of Nazareth as your guide. For he was effective. He was very successful indeed. You know of no better guide. You will try to proceed as Jesus would have you to do.

And now, so that you may take some measure of the debt you owe to the Past, and so that you may be encouraged to undertake to pay that debt to the Future, consider some of the great wrongs that have been eliminated, some of the great challenges which your ancestors faced up to.

It is likely that these great movements of yesteryear were expressions of the religious spirit in action. But they were not identified with any religious organization. They were lay movements—lay crusades. Some

of them were so poorly led that Peter the Hermit would have disdained to march before them.

But these movements answered great needs. They called to people like you, and people like you responded by the millions. They were started by individuals—individuals willing to be called fools and willing to buy justice with their lives. They all became mass movements. They all succeeded.

They occurred, as history goes, quite recently. They were—most of them—peculiarly American. But they swept the world.

IX

"What is this thing that ye do? Will ye rebel against the king?"—NEHEMIAH.

The first of these great movements which you must consider was the American Revolution. It was not just a rebellion wherein a chieftain gathers his cohorts about him and rides against those who are in power. It was more, too, than simply a movement for independence. It was a revolution of a very fundamental nature—a political revolution, but also a social revolution.

It did not occur primarily, or even mainly, because the colonies' grievances were insupportable and irremediable. Probably they were not so bad as all that. The revolution occurred because there were individual human beings, living in America, who had come to believe in a system of law quite different from any which existed at that time in England or elsewhere. It was not that George III was a bad king. It was that they wanted no king.

These individuals had come to believe that the ideal society was one in which people were governed through representatives whom they had elected and whom they could remove. This had never happened before, for Rome and Athens were aristocracies—private clubs, in a way—supported by vast numbers of human cattle. These colonials, therefore, were idealists, visionaries, fools. They even believed that the first son ought not to inherit everything. They opposed the law whereby great estates could be kept intact for generation after generation. They went so far as to call for the separation of the church from the state.

They were opposed, as Jefferson put it, to the idea that some people are born into this world, booted and spurred, and ready to ride through

life on the backs of other people. They were revolutionaries, all right.

They didn't originate all these ideas. They borrowed some of them from Voltaire and Rousseau and others. The difference was that they decided to do something about them. That is so very great a difference. The difficulties with King George furnished the opportunity. Jefferson, Henry, Adams, Hancock, Carroll and the rest took advantage of it. That was *their* moment in history. Those who gathered at Philadelphia in July of 1776 pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honors toward upholding independence from England. They pledged even their fortunes; they did feel deeply indeed.

Independence was maintained, and this new system of law did go into effect—much earlier in some states than in others. The revolutionary leaders soon learned, however, that thirteen sovereign states were not going to get along together, despite all they had in common, unless they were brought together under a common political framework. The federal system was devised, the Constitution was written, and Hamilton, Madison and Jay described it to the citizenry. The Constitution was adopted, by a very narrow margin, and your people and you have been living under it ever since.

It is a much better government than Americans had any right to expect. Americans have had it because they just barely had sense enough to listen to the individuals who had the learning, the wisdom, the vision and the courage to design it and promote it. As Washington put it, those individuals raised “a standard to which the wise and honest could repair.” That's the reason why they eventually enlisted the support of ten million Americans.

Not to mention the hundreds of millions of individuals in other countries. The American experiment evoked the French Revolution; it prompted nearly all of Latin America to throw off Spanish rule. It has swept across the world since then, including England and Spain themselves. In perhaps only a few places today does democracy really flourish. Yet it is everywhere the thing at stake. No dictator, whether a Latin American general, a fascist fuehrer or a communist secretary general, dares withhold from his people at least the *forms* of republican government, and absolute monarchy is almost wholly dead. The shots fired at Concord were heard around the world then. They are still echoing up and down this planet.

For, you see, those shots foreshadowed—not merely national independence, which is a lesser thing—they foreshadowed the beginning of human freedom, individual liberty, and dignity. They catalyzed a procession of events which produced The American. You, because you

were born in America, can say what you like, print what you want to, get together with whomever you please, and worship where—and if—you wish. You can petition the government to do this or that. You can cuss out the President. You can write nasty letters to your Congressman. The government can't quarter troops in your house without your consent. It can't enter your home without a warrant. It can't pass a law to make something illegal that you did years ago. It can't keep you in jail without a trial, inflict cruel or unusual punishments, or take your property without going through the full legal process.

It hasn't always worked the way Jesus would want it to. It was not complete. You will observe this presently. But, in general, it was this movement that made it possible for individuals like you to walk on your hind-legs and make of yourself whatever you want to. Through an accident of birth you have been greatly blessed.

Freely ye have received, freely give.

X

There is neither bond nor free . . . for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.—PAUL OF TARSUS.

The Negroes had been driven out of their homes in Africa and carried into captivity in the English colonies. This was not a new thing. It had happened to the Israelites several thousand years ago. Slavery had been an accepted institution in most of the world since the mind of man runneth not to the contrary. Even in Christian Europe under the feudal system the common people were held in a condition akin to slavery, called serfdom.

Slavery was very old, indeed. It was as old as the autocratic political system which Jefferson and his colleagues had thrown out. Both institutions were already on the scene when history began to be written. The point for you to note is that, deeply imbedded though they were, they were both thrown out. They were thrown out by mass movements made up of individuals like you.

There had been bitter opposition to slavery for a long time. People felt that it flew in the face of everything Jesus taught and was a stench in the nostrils of common decency. At the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, slavery had caused a lot of trouble. The Northern states and the Southern states made a compromise. The trade by which sea captains bought the slaves in African ports and sold them in Charleston, Savannah and other American ports was abolished. Slavery as an institution was left undisturbed, however. In determining how many representatives a state should have in Congress, a slave was to be considered a fraction of a man.

You should bear in mind that the anti-slavery sentiment might never have become a mass movement if the Jeffersonian revolution had not

taken place first. Because, from then on, in addition to the obvious moral objections to slavery, people became sensitive to the fact that slavery was totally out of keeping with the ideals of individual freedom which they, the Americans, had lately enshrined in their political institutions.

The anti-slavery movement had its heroes, of course, but it is hard to recall them now. For it was a spontaneous movement made up of millions of quickening consciences in the Northern and Border states. It had much silent support in the South. The clergymen were especially active. In those days a preacher would take a stand on a controversial issue, particularly if he didn't have many slaveholders in his congregation. You've read in recent years about the "undergrounds," Communist and otherwise, operating in Europe and other places. Possibly the original underground was the one the abolitionists operated, whereby slaves were enabled to escape into the North where they could live as free men.

In those days people like you came to feel that slavery was the great burning issue for them. It was their personal challenge. They were willing to buy freedom for the slaves with their own lives. Some of them—and many others—did, in the tragic war that followed. There were other issues at stake, of course. Most important of them was the political supremacy of the federal government. This was settled. And the Constitution was amended to take care of the slavery question.

The race problem is still very much with you. But the South, helped along from time to time by the Supreme Court, has made tremendous progress toward what it knows is right. You should realize that the Southerners alive today, black or white, did not cause the race problem there. They inherited it—just by accident of birth. If you wish to address yourself to this problem, remember that the important thing at issue is the right to vote. If the Negroes are allowed to vote freely—and if they vote—their other problems will soon disappear.

If the Jeffersonian revolution, which culminated in the federation of the thirteen states under the Constitution of 1787, had not occurred, there probably would have been no Civil War. On the other hand, if there had been no federation, or if the right of the Southern states to secede had gone unchallenged or been upheld by war, what you know today as the United States would have become, not merely two but several nations—not necessarily all of them English-speaking—separated by trade barriers, torn periodically by war, and with a standard of living equivalent to that in France or, possibly, that in Yugoslavia.

You may conclude, then, that the Jeffersonian and the abolitionist

movements were worthwhile, even though they brought on—indirectly and directly—the Civil War. For when that terrible conflict was over, three great principles had been established: political liberty, human dignity, and what is known as the federal principle. The federal principle may not mean much to you yet, but it was the thing that caused Lincoln to make his sorrowing decision after Fort Sumter was fired on. It was the thing for which tens of thousands of Northern soldiers died. They called it “saving the Union.” The Union meant all the states, not just the states they came from.

The anti-slavery movement in your country succeeded, because many individuals cared strongly about it. The movement spread. Today slavery is encountered only in the remotest corners of the earth and there it is sub-rosa, like the drug traffic. Some of the Mohammedan people still practice it.

You may have thought there is no progress in human affairs. There is.

XI

There is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.—PAUL OF TARSAUS

Since the beginning of time, except in a few tribes, women had been held in subjection by their men, like slaves. They were chattels. One tribe, carrying war to another, had two things in mind: to bring back slaves and to bring back women. During most of history, in most places, a woman when married forfeited to her husband the control of her property. She could inherit; if married she could not bequeath. She was not a slave, yet she was owned by her husband. This was her condition in America, and everywhere else.

From this came the "arranged" marriage that you have read about and the contract of marriage, put in writing, signed and sealed. It may seem ridiculous to you but it was important to a girl's parents who were trying to protect her against the time when she and all she owned or might inherit would belong to her husband.

This had a bad effect on a woman. If she wished to have any influence upon her husband or her children or upon matters which took place outside the home, she could achieve it only through physical charm, temper fits, cleverness and intrigue. She had to be a shrewd animal.

Many women had objected to this state of affairs through the generations. But it was deeply imbedded, institutionalized in the law, the marriage rite, and in the training a girl got at home. That was the way things were. Even Paul could be quoted against them, possibly because the women of his day were of the "shrewd animal" type. Many women took refuge in the notion that if they couldn't control their men, they weren't much women anyway.

Some time after the Civil War women began to get really concerned about their status and hopeful that something might be done about it. They could see that a lot of progress had been made: America was independent; individual liberty—for white men, anyway—had been guaranteed back in 1789; freedom—for black men, anyway—had been guaranteed at the close of the Civil War. The women felt that it was time they were emancipated too.

So they went to work. It was a mass movement, all right, even though it recruited its members from only half the American people. The movement had its organizations directed specifically toward its own ends. It had its slogans. It had its heroines—women who were willing to be laughed at, willing to march in columns, stand up and address rallies, paste up posters, buttonhole Congressmen. They were even willing to be scorned as something different from what a woman ought to be. They were called mannish, frustrated, deprived, ill-adjusted. You know, there is nothing much worse than ridicule. They were arrested sometimes and occasionally thrown in jail but it was the ridicule that hurt.

They persisted. City by city and state by state, they fought their battles and gained their ground. They had powerful weapons—shrewd, animal weapons—and they used them. Finally, at the close of World War I, when many men were overseas or in army camps far from home and when the men who had stayed home were sensitive about not being in uniform, they swept the board. The Nineteenth Amendment was adopted.

The suffragettes promised your country great things. If they were allowed to vote, no Senator Foghorns or Congressman Blimps would be sent to Washington, public education would be improved, even wars would disappear. The Republic would be in fine shape; the Millenium would be nigh. This hasn't happened, you know, but their movement did win. It won because millions of women became deeply concerned about it. It overcame a system which had existed since time immemorial. It swept across the world. Today, it's a rare country which doesn't permit women to vote, whether voting happens to mean anything in that country or not. Here again, the Mohammedan countries represent something of a last stronghold. According to Mohammed there were to be houris in paradise—for a purpose—but so far as he was concerned women simply had no souls. At least, this is the way Mohammed has been interpreted in Islam.

This movement—this revolution—is not yet finished either. Women have the vote, and many other things, but in certain jurisdictions their property rights are not yet made perfect.

Doubtless there would be less divorce today if the Nineteenth Amendment had not been passed. There might also be less juvenile (parental) delinquency. The American woman and the American family are in transition. But freedom always brings its problems and you would be guilty of a dangling conclusion if you assumed that, after the American woman has had more experience with her new-found rights—and especially when she has found a way to fill up that terrible emptiness after her children leave home — some of the promises she made when she wanted the vote won't come true.

At any rate, the suffragettes have left you one of the few truly worthwhile organizations in your country—the League of Women Voters.

XII

Come to me, all ye who labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest . . . I came that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly.

—JESUS OF NAZARETH

You may have considerable difficulty in picturing in your mind the conditions under which millions of workers lived toward the end of the 1800's and the beginning of the 1900's, in America, in Europe and other places. In the summer they came to work at dawn and left at dusk. In winter they came to work while it was still dark and left after night had fallen. There was little light in the factories at any hour, foul air, bad ventilation. The machines they worked among were dangerous; sometimes they were sawn asunder. In these factories worked strong men, haggard women and blighted children. They worked twelve and fourteen hours a day. They were paid five, ten, fifteen cents an hour—whatever the rate might be below which the factory manager couldn't get some one else to work. The workers were destitute, tormented, and afflicted. They were individuals like you; perhaps your grandfather, or even your father, was one of them.

There were no benefit plans in those days: no paid vacations, no paid sick leave; in fact, if your personal circumstances required you to be away temporarily, there was probably no job when you got back. There was no group life insurance, no unemployment insurance, no policy of promotion from within, no training program to help you qualify for a better job in the plant. There was no hospitalization or surgical insurance, no accident benefits either in the plant or in court, and the machines had no safety devices on them and you had no protective equipment on you. Pension or profit-sharing plan? Ridiculous.

The working man of that era was a free man. He could offer his services, for a price and on certain conditions, or he could withhold them. So was the factory boss. The trouble was that the worker's bargaining power was less than the boss'. The worker wanted one job; he could withhold just one worker. The boss had 150 jobs which he could give or withhold as he pleased. He didn't have to hire you as long as there was some one else, easier to get along with, who would work for what he wanted to pay. At that time the boss and other employers like him were importing hundreds of thousands of Europeans—Italians, Irishmen, Germans, Swedes, Greeks, Yugoslavs—and a good many Chinese. If you didn't want to work at the going rate—the least that anyone would take—these immigrants did. The last thing they wanted to do was to go back to the old country. So you worked.

You'll be interested to observe that it was these industrialists—textile factory owners, railroad magnates and the like—who made America the melting pot that it is. The United States was originally an English country plus the Scotch-Irish, the French, Swedes and a very few others who got here early—the Germans started coming in around 1850—yet here are these Anglo-Saxon industrialists in New England, New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio carrying out an experiment of world-shaking importance, and doing it simply in the name of cheap labor.

The Jeffersonian revolution had been primarily a political revolution. At that time the thirteen colonies had no industrial problems. People worked on their own farms or they hired out to a farmer. In the little cities of that day they worked in their own shops or they hired out as apprentices in someone else's shop. Whether in farm or city, the workers had a close personal relationship with the farmer or shop-owner and, although their hours might be long, they could look forward to becoming proprietors or master-craftsmen themselves. There was enormous economic inequality in your country, of course, as there had been everywhere since time began. It was just that it hadn't reached the critical point.

But, at the same time that the Jeffersonian political revolution was taking place, the Industrial Revolution was getting started. This was not really a revolution; it was no mass movement. It occurred simply because an individual somewhere invented a steam engine, a loom, a locomotive, a steamboat, or something else that made it easier, faster and cheaper to make or do a thing than it had been before. Probably the industrial revolution was precipitated by the discovery—by Bacon—of the scientific method. According to this, if you wanted to know something or make something, you tried this, that and the other until you

found something that made sense or fit or worked. You experimented, and drew your conclusions from the results of your experiments. Then, too, in New England, they found a way to put the pieces of a rifle together on what we now know as an assembly line. It speeded things up and was an important factor in making the industrial revolution what it turned out to be.

The so-called industrial revolution produced a real revolution—the mass movement for economic justice. You may call it the socialist revolution or the economic revolution.

Things had gotten pretty bad in the factories, here and abroad, by the middle of the 1800's, but in your country they were more or less overshadowed by the Civil War and its tragic aftermath.

In Europe some people had time to consider the problems. They were very much aware of the American Revolution and the French Revolution and all their far-reaching effects. Feudalism, which affected the peasant farmers, was a dead letter throughout Western Europe. Even in Russia, Czar Nicholas would soon free the serfs. The English were beginning to treat the Irish like they were human beings. The Napoleonic wars had remade the map of Europe. The Divine Right of Kings was finished although Prussia was on the way up as a monarchy and the Czar would regret his liberalism and return to autocracy.

These egg-heads in Europe reasoned that if the ideas of Voltaire and Jefferson really meant anything then the conditions of the laboring classes were a scandal to liberalism. The fact that you were equal under the law meant little if you labored from sunup to sundown for a wage set by someone else, if you could save nothing out of your meager pay, if you could acquire no property, if you could not educate your children, if you could not marry outside your supposed class, if your vote was examined by your factory manager and turned against you, if he and his like controlled the courts and the politicians by power of money and influence. In other words, as they saw it, you had all the rights but you didn't have the wherewithal to make your rights mean anything.

At about this time Karl Marx wrote his book called *Capital* and he and Engels published their *Communist Manifesto*. "Workers of the world, unite," the Manifesto said, "you have nothing to lose but your chains." "Communist" referred to the commune, an ancient principle of social organization wherein everyone shared equally in what was produced by the community while each contributed to that production as best he was able. Quite a Christian idea, really. In fact, many Christian communities—some of them experimental, and located in your country—have tried to carry out that idea.

Karl Marx was of the Jewish faith, born in one of the German principalities, and had spent quite a lot of time in England. He probably was what is now known as an "ill-adjusted" or "frustrated" person. Anyway he wasn't satisfied with things the way they were. He was an idealist. He was not a laborer; he belonged to an "upper" class. He was a man wracked and torn by a sense of injustice—injustice to others, not to himself. His was a pure anger. He was deeply concerned. He was willing to fight an absurd state of affairs, regardless of the consequences to himself and his name. You may believe that Jesus would have approved of Karl Marx.

Karl Marx was not the first man to be concerned about the plight of the industrial worker, but he may be given credit for starting the Socialist movement, which swept around the world including America. He did not start Communism, as that term is understood today. Indeed, he could not imagine an agricultural country, like Russia or China, appropriating his philosophy. Marx was talking to industrialized countries—Germany, England, France, the United States. Anyway, he started a mass movement.

You need not follow all the ramifications of the Socialist movement. Marx's ideas spread quickly over all of Europe and America and eventually to the uttermost parts of the Earth. Wherever people like you were poor and oppressed; wherever people had grown bitter in hard bondage; his message was received with gladness.

Two kinds of Socialists eventually developed. One kind believed in achieving socialism through democratic procedures—within the processes of law, by persuasion. These are still called Socialists. The other kind decided that socialist ends could be achieved only by violence, by force. These today are called Communists.

More people responded more actively to Marx than to Jefferson simply because bread was more real to them than was freedom. And, argue it how you may, you must concede that political equality may mean little unless it is accompanied by at least a measure of economic equality—this is, of economic justice.

Any injustice calls attention to itself in the consciences of men. Americans of good conscience worked together with the unshaven "wobblies" (Workers of the World), anarchists and others to bring about a measure of economic justice in your country. The Fabian (weak-tea) Socialists were prominent features of political life both in England and in your country about the turn of the century. But they were effective. And if you work in a factory today, be forever grateful

to these people who were willing to be called fools and busybodies, that you might live a more abundant life.

If the crusaders came from well-to-do families, they were called well-meaning fools or traitors. If they came from among the working people, they were called anarchists, atheists and subversive rabble. Especially after the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia, these countrymen of yours were condemned as agents of a foreign power. They were not sawn asunder—in your country—but they were afflicted and tormented. It was hard for them to stand fast in the faith. They could not always be completely sure that they were right.

The Socialist revolution journeyed around the world, calling to conscience all people everywhere. Wherever it touched down, great was the response. Many were the martyrs, for it was not a nice revolution wherever it alighted. You should understand that—as the world saw it—it was a case of the unwashed demanding to be treated as the washed.

On the Continent of Europe, during the late 1800's and early 1900's, there was much agitation for governments of the socialist type. These agitations did not get very far. At the end of World War I, however, the time was ripe for great changes. The German, Austro-Hungarian and Russian lands were especially ready, for the old gods had been discredited—at least temporarily. In Germany and Hungary the socialists seized power for a brief time but conservative forces rose up and drove them out.

Only in Russia did the movement succeed. This is an event worth examining. It has its ridiculous side, but there is an important lesson in it for you.

Since Marx's book came to be known there had been a socialist movement in Russia. Russia didn't have much of an industrial working class but it had all the problems that an oppressed, landless peasantry can bring. The movement was not large. Czarist autocracy left little room for an intelligentsia to develop and the peasantry were too bestialized to produce much in the way of leadership. But the movement, such as it was, was made up of dedicated men who were greatly concerned. They were ridiculed, imprisoned, exiled, executed. There was also a massacre or two.

Headquarters for this movement were usually outside Russia, mainly in Berlin or in Switzerland. Wherever they gathered, these pitiful revolutionaries bickered among themselves, struggled for power within their pint-sized organizations, and quarrelled with the international socialist movement. (Yes, it was organized on an international basis. There was

to be no war in a socialist world for all government would wither away and die—no longer needed to control man's base material instincts.)

The Russian socialist movement was about as sorry a movement as you can imagine. Yet it succeeded.

It succeeded because nothing in the world has the power that an idea has when it has reached its moment in history. The year 1917 was that moment in history for the Russian socialist movement. The nation had been defeated by Germany, the Czar had been assassinated, and Kerensky—who had succeeded the Czarist regime and who was trying to form a republic along Jeffersonian lines—was weak.

A few courageous fools like Lenin and Trotsky appeared in St. Petersburg, offered their socialist solution at the risk of their lives, and the groaning Russian people accepted it gladly. Hundreds of thousands of people died in the wars which Trotsky led against the White Russians, but they died for purposes which they deemed sufficient. The rest is history.

You may doubt that Jesus would have approved wholly of Lenin and Trotsky. They believed that if their purposes were good they were justified in doing anything, however bad, in order to achieve them, whereas Jesus put the thing this way: "Be ye wise as serpents" but, also, "And harmless as doves." You may observe that Lenin, Trotsky and their successors, because their means were not so good as their ends, have actually achieved ends different from those that Marx had in mind.

There is a substantial measure of economic justice in the Russia of your day, but her people are not free. Of the two—political freedom and economic justice—the former is ever so much more important. With political freedom, economic justice and all other things can come to pass. Without it, there can be silent mockery in the midst of plenty.

In your country, during the administration of the second Roosevelt, the economic revolution came into full flower. It was accomplished in a characteristically American way and its fruits were good, truly good. Economic democracy was not allowed to violate political democracy. The sacredness of the ballot was never infringed.

Instead, through the orderly processes of your government, tenant farmers were enabled to buy land; other farmers were given electricity. You could buy a house of decency on terms that you could pay. Your children found wholesome employment and a chance to go to college. The Constitution itself was reinterpreted to give you a better break. The right of a laboring man to bargain together with his fellows against his employer was made real. Child labor had long since become illegal; women could no longer be held to their looms until their eyes popped

out from fatigue. Mills and factories had already been made safe for you to work in.

And then your government decided upon minimum wages and maximum hours. Provision was made for widows and old people when the time might come when they could no longer work. Unemployment insurance became a reality too. And there were many other things.

Your federal government, its conscience quickened by the world-wide economic revolution—the socialist movement—gave you what you needed of economic justice to make your political liberties still more real.

Here, too, you are the heir of the ages. You have many things for which you did not sacrifice, many things which you have not earned. You are, in plain fact, deeply indebted to Karl Marx.

XIII

And these all, having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promise: God having provided some better thing for us, that they without us should not be made perfect.—HEBREWS

You have perceived how people like you have done great things. Most of them were not saints, although they may have been inspired by saints. They hated the injustices—the absurdities, if you like—of their time. And they decided to do something about them. They uprooted and threw out these four great evils: political tyranny, chattel slavery, female incompetence, and economic serfdom. All these evils had existed since Adam met Eve—since man first crawled up out of the primeval slime. How did they do it? Why, by offering to buy it with their lives, of course. There is no easier way, no other way at all.

You may construe all these great events as a process whereby things which are not consistent with the teachings of Jesus and the other great prophets are abolished. Compared with His way, these things were absurd; they were eliminated. They were not eliminated by Jesus; they were done away with by struggling, imperfect people like you. This is the still, sad music of humanity. But it is music.

And what is there left to you? What better thing is provided for you to do?

There is a better thing without which these other things shall not be made perfect. Only you can do this thing, for you are alive and must pay for your life. Indeed, without you the work of the Great Ones throughout all time will be lost. You may be a slender reed to lean upon. You are weak. But it is up to you.

XIV

And they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.—ISAIAH

That is your challenge. War. War, and how to get rid of it. How to establish a peace that will endure on out beyond the horizons of tomorrow. Impossible? Perhaps. But that is beside the point. You are challenged to try. You shrink from the challenge? Of course. It's too big for you.

But attempt no small designs, for small designs have not the power to command the minds of men. Jefferson and his friends did not barter with King George just to get rid of a trivial Stamp Tax. No, they said we're through with you. Your system is wrong. We are going to throw you out and set up a government the like of which has never been known. The abolitionists did not petition the Southern states for a law whereby a slave could receive only three stripes per whipping. No, they said your system is wrong—horribly wrong. And it must go, and you with it, if necessary. Marx did not merely beseech the powers of his day to grant a measure of mercy. No, he said your system is not right. It is evil and we will get rid of it if it costs our blood. These people played with their lives for high stakes. They raised standards to which men and women repaired by the millions. And they won. They were men who would rather be traitors under the law than traitors to what they held to be right.

They threw out governments entire, changed whole legal systems, and when they were finished their hopes and aspirations had been written into the fundamental law of the land. They poured their ideals in con-

crete. And today their victories are protected by every guarantee that the political framework can give. They didn't change human nature, yet they substituted great goods for great evils which had persisted since time began. They did it by changing the law. Your nature hasn't changed. Your capacity for good and evil is still infinite.

They called up the good in your forefathers and their reforms were accepted. Today your life is less brutal—there is less anguish—because of them. And you have less excuse for evil. But your basic nature hasn't been altered. It's the political framework within which you move and have your being that has been altered. In your case, it's the federal constitution of the United States. They built it, and altered it, so that your freedom might be made real.

It was, until recently, a political framework adequate to perpetuate their works and keep you a free man.

It is no longer adequate. Your government can no longer protect you. It can no longer guarantee your freedom. For some time past it has been unable to do for you the things—the most important things—that it is supposed to do for you. Neither is any other government in the world able to serve its people—individuals like you—in the way they must be served, or perish. The Governments try. The people perish. In many parts of the world, where the light of human freedom burned only dimly or fitfully, it has gone out. Where it still burns, it has been on the wane. Even in your own country, human dignity is at hazard. Only you can do something about it.

It is up to you. For no society produces many Jeffersons or Lincolns—individuals who in their own persons can evoke and command the political power needed to respond to a challenge. Apparently there is none in your country now. Your society has changed too. There has been a leveling out. Education, such as it is, is pretty much universal. Standards of living have achieved a rough equality for most people. There are few very little people, few great. There is—mediocrity. So, mediocre though you may be, you must try.

You have seen the symptoms of what is wrong. For the signs of this great absurdity of your day are writ large. World wars. Not just wars, but world wars. Not the gallant tourneys of King Henry the Fifth. But feats of such a criminal enormity that they have wiped out whole populations and now threaten every individual alive today.

Bring home to yourself that which has already happened. A mountain of naked, palpable human bodies, stacked like cordwood, and among them your wife. Your child, wandering homeless, hungry and alone through the fetid wastes of a ruined city. Dear God, can you not feel

it? Are you a man, or a vegetable? Must it really happen to you and yours before you can feel it? Use now the imagination that a loving God gave you. For then it will be too late.

Draw deep into your soul the horrible reality of what has happened but recently. It is none the less real that it happened to another. For he was precisely like you in every respect. But he is gone now, and with him all his responsibility for what might have been. Whereas you are alive, and with all the terrible responsibility of an American. You will do something about it.

But first you must learn more about the nature of the disease that afflicts you and your world.

In the olden days, when kings were absolute monarchs, they were called sovereign. They ruled—they claimed—by Divine Right. To be sovereign meant that a prince had dominion over everything and everybody within his realm. He was the boss. And nobody outside his realm could tell him what to do. He had no boss. Oh, he might pay lip service in temporal or spiritual matters to some so-called Emperor or Pope, and he might quarrel a good deal with them over their prerequisites, but the king had the power. He had the artillery. He was supreme; therefore he was sovereign.

Although he claimed to rule by divine appointment, the king admitted a duty to his nobles and to his common subjects. This was essentially a feudal or medieval notion. The feudal obligation, or contract, consisted of this: The prince was the liege lord of his counts and barons. When they were in trouble, the prince and his cohorts would come to their assistance and they together would throw out the foreign invader, the common enemy. If the prince got into trouble, or if he wished to extend his realm, the nobles were honor bound to assist him. This same feudal bond existed between the nobles and the common people. The baron protected his freedmen and serfs; they helped him.

From a bystander's point of view the whole system could appear rather silly. For example, the foreign invader might live just across the river, and be of the same race, language and religion as his enemy. But these feudal obligations were written in blood and endorsed by the religion of the time. During the feudal era people were mainly ignorant and ornery but they would do battle in a minute for words like "honor" and "virtue" and "loyalty." It was a period of magnificent absurdities.

You might like to note that these titles such as duke, marquis and count got started during the time of Constantine, called Constantine the Great. He was the Roman Emperor but he ruled from Byzantium, now known as Constantinople or Istanbul, and he was really an Oriental

despot. You will recall that he was the emperor who accepted Christianity and made it the state religion. This was the worst thing that could have happened to Christianity. It was the first of many compromises made by the church. It's probably no accident that Constantine's reign pretty much marked the end of Rome and the beginning of the Dark Ages. These titles were the names of military and civil officers in Constantine's empire and they went along with other fat pseudonyms such as bishop and archbishop. They later became hereditary and blood lines became important; another feature of the Dark Ages.

At any rate, the feudal contract carried on through from medieval to modern times. A king might be divinely anointed, but he had to take care of his people. If he didn't, a way was usually found to pass the mandate of heaven on to somebody else. Often, a neighboring prince just conquered and took over.

George the Third of England was no Louis the Fourteenth. He was called Sovereign, but his sovereignty was rather limited by the Parliament, thanks to Magna Carta, and to Oliver Cromwell and other dedicated fanatics. You should note how the form of sovereignty lives on after the substance of it has begun to depart.

When Washington finally got rid of George III at Yorktown and made Jefferson's Declaration real, something had to take the place of George.

Thirteen sovereign states took his place under the Articles of Confederation. This was a new idea of sovereignty for there was no sovereign. Here was a piece of geography called Connecticut or Georgia or Delaware, with a constitution and a government, which had gotten rid of its erstwhile sovereign and refused to take another. Therefore it itself—impersonal and fictitious though it might be—took the mantle of sovereignty, for lack of any other.

A majority of the people in the thirteen states soon learned that no state was in position to maintain its sovereignty untrammelled. The states were too close together, their affairs were too intermingled. Tariff barriers had been raised between states. On a couple of borders, war threatened. The colonials had assumed that, since they were mainly of British origin, spoke the same language, were of similar religion, and had the same manners and customs, their states could exist under a loose confederation such as had been set up by the Articles—a league, a treaty, a United Nations if you please. The Continental Congress could debate; it could even reach a decision. But it couldn't enforce anything it decided. It could pass laws but it couldn't enforce them. The Articles of Confederation had set up something, but it wasn't a government by any stretch of the imagination. It had to call upon each separate state

to enforce its mandate and collect its taxes, if the state so pleased. It was a poor enough instrument to fight a war with—Washington's army almost starved. Once the common cause had been gained, after Yorktown, the poor thing fell apart. Its currency—and its so-called laws—were not worth a Continental.

So the thirteen confederated states had to set up a common government that could collect taxes, that could enact real laws, and enforce them—if necessary, by force. The American living in Carolina found that his affairs were inextricably interwoven with those of the American in New England. Individuals saw that their state governments could not provide the peace and prosperity that they had a right to expect. So they set up a government that could. They didn't give it all the power; they left some with the state governments, kept the rest themselves.

From an internal point of view what the people actually did was to delegate certain authority to their state governments in return for certain benefits which the states could at that time provide. At the same time they delegated certain other authority to the federal government in return for certain benefits which only a general government could provide—principally currency, weights and measures, interstate trade, foreign trade, foreign policy. The state was supreme as to the things it could give in return; the federal government was supreme as to the things only it could offer. This is sometimes called the system of concurrent sovereignties, or—simply—the federal principle.

Here, too, you see an idea called the social contract. Jefferson borrowed it from a Frenchman named Rousseau. It was rather similar to the old feudal contract. Power, or sovereignty, was confirmed in an overlord in exchange for guarantees which a lone man could not hope to maintain by himself. But, in the social contract, the thing was voluntary on the part of the individual. He was a free man, answerable only to his God, and therefore possessed complete sovereignty in himself. To ensure certain blessings to himself and his posterity—namely, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—he freely extended, in company with other individuals, a portion of his sovereignty to a government which was to be elected by him and his fellows and which could be changed by them. According to the federal principle, you may keep a portion of that sovereignty—of that control—for yourself, give a portion to a state government, confer a portion upon a national government, depending upon what these governments can do for you.

If a government does not do the things for you that justified it in receiving your sovereignty in the first place, or if you find that it once could but no longer can, then you have the right to take back so much

of that sovereignty as you deem necessary and give it, instead, to a new government which can guarantee your life, your liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

This is your situation now. The Government of the United States no longer justifies the sovereignty which your forefathers confided to it. You must set up a new government which will. Obviously you will need to find a good many other individuals who are willing to go along with you. If each man sets up his own government that is anarchy. And government is still needed because your basic nature hasn't changed, not really.

From an external point of view, the federal government—because it had charge of interstate and foreign matters—became the sovereign. The states were still called sovereign but, in fact, lacking freedom of action beyond their own borders, they were no longer sovereign in the absolute sense, although this was not finally decided until the Civil War. True, your federal government is also limited to its powers, but it has had control of foreign affairs since 1789 and therefore, in the eyes of the world, it is sovereign.

For 125 years your federal government justified the sovereignty you had given it. Except for the Civil War, which sealed the Union, you and your people were guaranteed life, liberty and an opportunity to seek happiness. You had generations of peace in which minor affairs such as the Mexican and Spanish wars made scarcely a ripple. Your government secured the frontier against the poor Indians. It maintained your country's territorial integrity, and expanded it. When great needs, not hitherto foreseen, arose, your government was flexible to new purposes. You and your people had little cause to complain of your bargain—until 1914.

Since 1914, things have not been the same. They grow worse apace. Since then, the federal government—struggling to meet the threats from abroad—has taken more and more of your sovereignty and given you less and less of life, of freedom, or hope of happiness. The bargain grows bitter; the social contract is breaking. You are holding up your end. Your national government can't. It wasn't built that way.

When the federal union was formed in 1789, it took in all the area of probable conflict. The area of probable conflict is simply whatever geographical area is inter-related to the extent that disagreements may arise, and produce conflict. To the extent that there are interests in common to that extent there is the likelihood of conflict.

Canada lay in the far North. Things with Canada had pretty much been settled in the French and Indian War. Spain had a foothold in the

far South, in Florida and thereabouts, but its center of strength, in Mexico, was remote. France had certain claims in the Mississippi Valley, but that was a wilderness away. With England defeated, and Europe in constant turmoil anyway, a threat from that quarter was unlikely. At any rate, by design and by chance, the federal union came to comprise the area of certain conflict.

America's frontiers shortened up with rather surprising speed. The English came back and there was the war of 1812, with echoes in Canada. Florida had soon to be bought to get Spain out of the way. Louisiana had to be bought to get France out of the way. By the 1830's Americans were in Mexico's back yard and the war with Mexico ensued. Later, to prevent a war over Oregon, a deal had to be made with Britain. The South tried to bring England into the Civil War. While that war was going on, Napoleon the Third set up Maximilian in Mexico and maintained him there until the war was over and the American government could turn its attention to Mexico. There were many other European attempts upon Latin America which the United States, with a little help from the Monroe Doctrine and a lot of help from England, was able to discourage. Finally there was the war with Spain over Cuba—a sort of busybody war.

Your country's affairs were mingled with those of other countries, but not to the *critical point*. Your federal government was able to deal with problems as they came along. Most were solved though diplomacy or a show of force. And such foreign wars as occurred were small, brief and limited in scope. All together they did not cause a tithe of the misery caused by the Civil War. The big wars were still in Europe, an ocean removed from your government.

Your life was growing longer, easier, richer. Your liberties were expanding. Your government could protect you. Your bargain had been a good one.

But that ocean which separated your country from Europe had been shrinking. You must understand that, although a mile was still a mile and an hour was still an hour, they simply no longer meant what they used to mean. For distance and time had been abridged—telescoped into things of far less importance than they had once been. The Industrial Revolution had caused this. You may blame it for your present troubles.

By 1914 it took less time to go around the world than once had been required to ride from Maine to Georgia. All the means of human transportation in common use today—from steamboat to airplane—were

known by 1914. All the instruments of human communication in common use now—from telegraph to radio—had been invented by then.

The area of probable conflict had been broadened. It had reached from Europe around the world to the East and had embraced Japan. It had reached out from Europe to the West and had embraced your country. It had become one world.

XV

I am the light of the world . . . I came not to judge the world but to save the world . . . The field is the world.

—JESUS OF NAZARETH

And, finally, after more thousands of years than men can count, and nineteen hundred years after Jesus strode the Earth, the field became the world.

Flanders field. For the last time in history, men went gladly off to war, singing. There were the pomp and circumstance of the German Kaiser (Caesar), his impressive Uhlan cavalymen trailing their penons in the breeze. There were the brave bearded infantrymen of the French Republic who had almost taken Europe for Napoleon a hundred years before. There were those soldiers of a cool, careless courage, the British tommies.

There were more. Eventually there were men who fought in this war who represented every skin color, who believed every important religion, who spoke every great tongue, who lived under every form of government then known to mankind.

Even for Europe, this was a different kind of war. Since the days of the Roman peace, Europeans had fought together in the Crusades against the Mohammedans; they had fought against each other—Florence against Milan, France against England, Prussia against Austria; occasionally, three or even four powers would be involved in the same war, often due to family alliances among the ruling houses. But Europe had had few general wars. There had been the Thirty Years' War, basically a Catholic-Protestant dispute which likewise involved many princely ambitions and laid waste to much of Northern Europe. There had been the wars of Louis the Fourteenth of France which brought in a

larger area, most of Western Europe, and lastly the Napoleonic wars which covered all of Europe. Since then there had been localized wars, such as the Crimean and the Franco-Prussian, but general war had been averted through what was known as the Balance of Power.

This was peculiarly a British policy for, during the century from Waterloo to Flanders, Britain with her empire was in a class by herself as a world power. By combining her power with that of France, or Prussia, or Russia, or with others as circumstances dictated, she managed to counter most threats to the peace and all threats to herself. It was, of course, not a balance of power, but rather an imbalance of power, that made this possible. Also, during this period, the Industrial Revolution was the great thing and people were busy exploiting new inventions, opening up new areas abroad, and making money.

It was when power came into balance that the first world war started. Bismarck had built Prussia into Germany and had made Germany into a great industrial nation which threatened Britain's supremacy. The Kaiser wanted an overseas colonial empire comparable to those that Britain and France already had. They had frustrated him. He had the largest, best trained and best equipped army in the world plus a new navy which Britain feared.

The first world war did not start, like the Thirty Years' War, for religious reasons, nor was it the result of a deliberate attempt at conquest. Kaiser Wilhelm was no Napoleon Bonaparte. This war was simply the natural and predictable outcome of a situation in which an area of certain conflict, Europe, was divided into many sovereign nations—each nation answerable to no higher law; each nation with its own plans, ambitions, dignity; each nation possessed of the means of defending its honor; each nation with a population made up of people like you who were willing to give their lives—including the socialists and suffragettes—for their country; each nation absolute and a law unto itself.

A balance of power had been reached and the time had turned critical. No nation had any control over any other nation or any sure knowledge of what its prime minister had in mind. This awakened suspicion which produced fear. Clarifications were demanded. What are your intentions? Give evidence of your good faith. Notes flew thick and fast among the chancelleries. Sailors were recalled from leave. Divisions were mobilized. It was really fear that started the first world war. Fear boiled up into a great excitement of suspense. Prime ministers and peasants got to the point where they could not endure the tension. Action was preferable to suspense, and let the Good God uphold the

Right. Under these conditions, the assassination of the Austrian archduke at Sarajevo had not the slightest importance. If the release from tension had not occurred there and then, it would have been offered somewhere else a few days later. Any excuse would have served, for the situation was intolerable.

Your father swung off to war, singing. He and millions like him died. They died under conditions of indescribable indignity. Disease, shrapnel, bayonets. They didn't die like children of God. They didn't kill like children of God. They all prayed to God. They all prayed to the same God. But God didn't hear them. He didn't know them. He didn't recognize them until they were dead and the evil had gone out of them. For they hadn't heard God. They hadn't known God. They had meant to but they hadn't gotten around to it. They had been busy worshipping a brass idol—a graven image that they had fashioned and raised up in front of Him. They had been worshipping the Nation.

Your father and his buddies fell down and worshipped a false god—a devil god who demanded and got human sacrifice—the god of an evil cult which celebrated its rites in blood by dark of the moon in Flanders, in Gallipoli, and in the uttermost parts of the Earth. So they created a hell instead of a heaven. And they roasted in it. And caused their wives and children—from Rouen to South Haven to Hiroshima—to cry the miserere.

The balance of power was so perfect that the war never really got anywhere. The Allies and the Central Powers lay there in the mud for four years, meaninglessly swapping a life for a life, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. The war was decided otherwise. Britain was able to contain the German navy. America entered the war and tipped the scales. These two things brought about what was called—for lack of a better word—victory. The Prussian generals surrendered. The men still alive in the trenches climbed out and went home. They didn't sing. They sighed.

Whether your country ought to have entered the first world war is a question without meaning. The point is that it did, for reasons which appeared sufficient at the time. The Kaiser was not an ogre, until the Allied press made him one. He was the head of a state which, like others newly come to nationhood, thought it had a Manifest Destiny. No doubt, seen through American eyes, Germany and the Central Powers seemed a dirtier gray than did England and the Entente Cordiale.

But, whatever it was, it was not a war to make the world safe for democracy. If it was, it was lost. For war is not the way you make the world safe for democracy.

With war, you make the world safe for tyranny. With war, you bring about perversions of human society. You create, out of war, nations which fear not to worship the devil openly, and without shame. You sweep out one devil and make room for seven new devils each worse than the first. War does not solve problems. It creates them. Violence begets violence. War breeds war. Observe the consequences of this war. For an act is known by its consequences, not by the ends that it had in mind.

Your father and his comrades were not bad men. They simply went a-whoring after false gods. They made the cardinal error of not putting first things first. And they died in vain unless you can learn what things to put first.

XVI

*Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they
that take the sword shall perish with the sword.*

—JESUS OF NAZARETH

And it came to pass in those days that of the nations defeated in the wars each one lost its own king and knew not another, and there came false prophets in the name of socialism and in the name of patriotism and made of themselves the governments of those nations.

You should note that all things have to work together for ill in order to produce the Stalins, the Mussolinis, the Hitlers and the Francos of this vale of tears. There had been inequity, tyranny, sorrow, trouble, but it took the first world war to produce these creatures. And they were creatures of their time; not its creators. They were created by a vast inhumanity which made their inhumanities appear the lesser. The young men had gone away and had not come back, many of them. Trade and commerce had been disrupted. Currencies became worthless. Money, the great good, was no good. A man worked for his bread and found that what he earned wouldn't buy bread. People didn't even have anything to starve *for*. Man does not live—anywhere or in any time—by bread alone. The old nationalist god was discredited but they found none to take his place. They had been misled, mistreated, disinherited. They ate of bitterness. It was the bitter fruit of their ways, but men don't like to look that sort of thing in the face.

The old legitimate rulers were gone. The Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs departed this scene, never to return, and with them went the Sultan of Turkey. Russia and Italy had belonged to the winning side, but they hadn't lasted. The House of Romanoff was gone and the House of Piedmont would lose all power, remain a prisoner.

So there came to these bruised people—individuals like yourself—men who said that your real trouble was that you had not worshipped the Nation-God enough. Your worship had not been selfless enough. You had made an insufficient sacrifice. Stalin said to Russia, "I will organize your country as no nation has yet been organized. It will become great, as Marx and Lenin meant it to be. With Communism writ upon our shield, we shall come to rule the world." Mussolini, who marched on Rome as a socialist, said "I will give you a more abundant life. I will call back the might of Rome and the empire of the Caesars. I will make of you that which you have always deserved to be." Hitler addressed the Germans, saying "You were betrayed. The Germanic race has a sacred mission. You shall be baptized in blood. Submerge yourself in me and you shall find your justification. Come to me, all ye who labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

"Come and suffer," Garibaldi had said. Mussolini was no Garibaldi but he knew that the invitation had a home in the human soul. Stalin was no Lenin, yet he knew he could command the selflessness which the yearning for economic justice invokes—command it to his own ends. Hitler was no Bismarck but he was aware of that Germanic mysticism which bathes itself in the mists of the Rhine, burns bonfires in the night, alternates between proud and humble, seeks that catharsis which will release it from itself. He played upon it; the Germans danced to his tune.

These were strange and disturbing times. Disillusioned, frustrated individuals—people very like you—sacrificed their souls to their leaders. Their leaders gave them hope—for a change, any kind of a change—and passed their souls on to the Devil.

Observe that an idea or a man representing an idea, no matter how ridiculous, can pervert a society from hopelessness if the idea or man offers hope. No solution is too unreasonable if it but offer hope.

Why do the people not cling to Christ, or to Buddha, or Ramakrishna, or Lao-tze, or Mohammed? Perhaps because these died so long ago. Why do you not cling to Christ? Well, he died nearly two thousand years ago. Of the years since history began to be written, the years since Jesus died account for more than half. Yet, by geological reckoning, Jesus died on the cross only yesterday. If he lies in the grave, the aroma of his burial wrappings still assails your nostrils. If he ascended into heaven, the flutter of his passage still echoes in your ears. Whatever you may think of Jesus, you cannot believe that he was not justified. But you have turned from his way.

Wherever these new prophets found a home, they did not set up a

government of laws. They set up a government of men. This was as true of Kemal Ataturk in Turkey as it was of Hitler in Germany. Individual freedom meant nothing because your apotheosis—your life beyond you, your justification—was to be found in the Nation. You were not an individual responsible to God. You were a citizen, or a subject, chained as to a Juggernaut by forces which you did not understand, or perhaps approve, but which you had accepted. In India, Juggernaut is a god. The Indians do not understand him. But they propitiate him. They fear him. And he represents hope—hope for a better end rather than a worsen end.

These dictators were accepted on faith. They appeared to represent the true god—the old familiar god—the Nation. A government of laws was a mundane notion, an abstract sort of idea. What your nation needed was a man—a real man—and it had found him. This was the way it appeared to the people; people like you.

While all this was going on in the defeated nations, the victorious ones found themselves not in much better case. They in Europe were prostrated—defeated, really. France and England had lost a generation entire of young men. Your country had not lost its generation but it—like the old countries—was disillusioned. Japan had found in the war that it had great stuff and went on to give its military men not only the palm but the scepter.

The small nations which your president, Woodrow Wilson, founded at the conference table—in the name of self-determination—learned that they could neither bring the good life to their people nor maintain the so-called absolute sovereignty which had been given them. Other parts of the world—less ready, in Wilson's judgment, for self-government—were mandated to France or to England. The lamb was required to lie down with the lion, on the lion's promise to care for the lamb as though it were one of his own cubs.

Do not assume that self-determination is a bad idea. It doesn't answer the problem of great, conflicting sovereignties. But it is not a bad idea; it is a good idea. Any group of people who have much in common have the right to govern themselves. This is true of your school district and it is true everywhere else. The mistake came in assuming that these Wilson-founded nations could meet their problems, maintain their trade, guarantee their citizens' life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, and still be *sovereign*. Self-government was a good idea; it ought not to have involved utter, sovereign independence.

And there was no higher sovereignty to which these new nations—or the old nations—could appeal. Wilson had failed, and failed miserably,

to provide the framework within which any nation in this one world could provide the blessings of life which were the original excuse for the existence of the national governments.

Perhaps only Wilson knew whether he knew that he had offered the world less than it needed. But he *must* have known. Because Wilson knew all that there was to know about the American experiment. He knew about the Articles of Confederation and he knew why they had to be supplanted by the Constitution. He cannot be compared to an Eisenhower who knows so very little. But, like many intellectuals, Wilson perhaps had little real confidence in the people. At the close of world war one, from his high pedestal as president of the American people and leader of the world, he offered a lesser thing which he thought might be accepted. He did not raise a standard to which the wise and honest could repair.

Woodrow Wilson, a great man, a visionary, trying to be practical. He offered to the world that of which he himself almost certainly did not approve. He offered to the supposed mass mind of his day a watered-down version of that which he himself must have known was necessary. He had grown old, and very tired. You, please, do not allow yourself to become so tired. Get your sleep. Go away for a while, if necessary. Be ready for the final inning, when you may be the individual who makes the supreme difference.

Wilson offered to the world self-determination, and new nations conceived in that likeness; he offered mandates over undeveloped territories. He had led your country into a war to make the world safe for democracy. He had won. He was the boss. What did he offer to ensure this democracy, these new nations, these new mandates? Nothing. Nothing except a treaty. A treaty signed by the existing governments of the great and small nations; an agreement which could not commit their people; an agreement which could not be enforced; another league; another articles of confederation; a piece of paper which would fly up, disappear and be forgotten when the first contrary wind came to blow. Wilson offered a little thing which masqueraded as a big thing: the League of Nations.

The League of Nations could say no man nay. It had received no authority, therefore it could exercise none. It could not check, in the slightest, that process whereby nations seek to exercise their absolute sovereignty; seek utter economic self-sufficiency; seek national autarchy. If ever trade needed to run freely among nations it was after world war one, when the life-blood of trade might have healed the horrible economic wounds left by the war. This did not happen. Tariff walls were

built higher and higher. Each nation wished to sell but not to buy. Currency restrictions were enforced. Artificial rates of exchange were imposed. Quotas were set up, to limit the amount of goods one nation would take from another. Excess goods were dumped abroad to relieve the pressure at home. Trade became merely the tool of national ambitions and fears.

The argument in favor of free trade across national frontiers is simply that, if trade is free, then each part of the world will be able to produce and sell to the world only those things which it can produce cheaper than anyone else, and from this it follows that people everywhere can buy everything at the lowest possible prices, thus making for maximum economic well-being everywhere. Many arguments are advanced against this and in support of high tariffs and all manner of trade restrictions, but when all these arguments fail, the clincher is offered. The clincher is that all kinds of raw materials and manufactured goods must be produced in your nation because, in the event of war, supplies from outside the nation might be cut off and your nation would not be able to wage war efficiently. This argument carries the day. The outside nation is not allowed to export its goods to your nation. Its economy goes from bad to worse. So does yours. Both nations are brought closer to accepting some horrible new government that offers a cure to all ills, and thus brought closer to the next war.

Your nation, in its stupid Smoot-Hawley Tariff Bill, brought this sort of thing to its absolute perfection. The root cause of the Great Depression was national sovereignty and world war one, but if you want to find a proximate cause for the Depression, examine the Smoot-Hawley tariff—the highest tariff wall in history. And this wall was to remain very high, even after all the years of Cordell Hull's reciprocal trade agreements. You should note that a nation's foreign trade is, if nothing more, the escape valve to its economy. If excess goods cannot be sent abroad, they must be kept at home. Production outruns supply, prices are cut, factories shut down, people lose their jobs, and the whole sad deflationary cycle is well on its way.

The League of Nations not only did not meet the immediate threats to the peace, which arose in Ethiopia, in Spain, in Manchuria, in the Ruhr, and in the Sudetenland, but it was powerless to do anything about international trade, currency devaluation, or anything else.

And thus the defeated nations accepted their Hitlers, Mussolinis and Stalins, and Spain's republic—never very strong—gave way to Franco, the Japanese liberals gave way to Tojos, and even the strongest democracies were rent and torn. The French Republic went from crisis to

crisis. Communism and fascism became threats to the British system of laws. Holland, Belgium and the Scandinavian nations looked with alarm.

And when the Great Depression came along your country gave sweeping power to one man, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Can you imagine what might have happened if he had wanted to be a dictator?

Thus the first world war caused the legal order within each nation to weaken—or crumble. The political framework warped—or gave way. There had been a system of law even in Germany; the Kaiser was not an unlimited monarch, a dictator. Even in Russia there had been a system of jurisprudence which upheld certain standards of conduct. The magnitude of the nation's defeat had a direct bearing on the extent to which a new government by men would be substituted for an old government by law. But every nation, whether it had been monarchic or democratic, whether devastated by the war or merely shaken by it, had a similar experience. The destruction brought by the war, the disillusionment which followed it, and the monstrous expense of paying for it—these were the stresses and strains which pressed upon the old political orders and wrought evil changes.

Everywhere men were less free after the war than they had been before it. And, nearly everywhere, poorer as well.

You will note, as a curiosity if nothing more, that the nations which had a sizeable middle class tended to accept that perversion of society now known as fascism. The would-be leader would appear on the scene perhaps as a socialist. This would assure him the support of poor people. Mussolini called himself a socialist. So did Hitler. The name of Hitler's party throughout its vile career was the National Socialist Party. But the fascist dictator's real deal is with the wealthy, the industrialists, the men of property. They, in effect, hire him to keep the masses under control. The middle class swings the balance of power and it too supports him, for middle class people like to side with their betters. They may be bankrupt now, but they once had something—more, at least, than the average. Hence socialism has little appeal to them. They are for the man who will safeguard property, respect their status, and keep the rabble down.

In contrast, the nation without a sizeable middle class tends, in these circumstances of upheaval, to accept that perversion of society known as Communism. Communism, for your purposes, may be defined as a measure of socialism unaccompanied by a measure of political freedom. Economic equality without political equality. Social democracy without political democracy. The rulers-to-be stride on the scene with a Marxist text in hand and propose a dictatorship of the proletariat. The people

accept it. There's no deal here between the leaders and the rich men. The rich men are eliminated and the middle class, too, if necessary. The deal here is that you are to be the proletariat and the leader is to be the dictator.

Russia and China are the two leading examples of this process, but it is a process which is peculiarly well suited to most of Africa and Asia, the Near East, and to Eastern Europe.

Spain does not fit the pattern. It had great poverty and a relatively small middle class. Yet it went fascist. Why? Probably because of the Church's active intervention in that struggle, possibly due to the Spaniard's love for his generals, perhaps simply because the Spaniard yearns more for his Yesterday than for his Tomorrow. Spain is interesting because King Alfonso left and the monarchy fell, followed by a republican form of government which permitted a high degree of individual liberty. But the government had included the Communists and fell increasingly under their influence—just how far, few people know for sure. Spain had no democratic traditions. Franco made his move, received help from Mussolini and Hitler, and took over.

The war clouds rolled back, to reveal a poisonous fog. Intense were the frustrations, deep the lusts, bitter the hatreds. America produced its G. L. K. Smith, England its Sir Oswald Mosely, France its Lavals. Franco rode high in Spain, Mussolini in Italy, Hitler in Germany, Stalin in Russia. China had its Chiang Kai-shek and its Mao Tse-tung, Japan its Tojos. There was a good man in the world but he lived in India and was a person of little consequence for he talked as Jesus might have talked.

There came a quiet across the Earth and free men feared to walk erect. The concentration camp was invented. Men crawled on their bellies to worship the Nation-God and his high priests. The veterans in Oiltown held a patriotic rally to celebrate the anniversary of their victory in the war to save democracy.

XVII

And I saw another sign in heaven, great and marvellous, seven angels having the seven last plagues; for in them is filled up the wrath of God.—JOHN THE DIVINE

Before you took the road that led to the field called, in the Hebrew tongue, Armageddon—the second Armageddon—you ought to have considered the meaning of the words which called you there: Patriotism, Nationalism, Loyalty, Americanism.

Patriotism is a word much older than Nationalism and represents a better thing. Patriotism is a word that comes from the same root as does the word Father. It comes out of the mists of time. The tribe or clan had a common father, otherwise it would not have been a tribe or a clan—that is, a family. You were loyal to your clan. When the tribe ceased to be nomadic—quit roaming about, living off its livestock, and settled down in one place and planted fields—this Father-feeling became attached to a piece of land and you had a Fatherland.

Patriotism, then, in its pure and natural form, is an affection for a family and a land. It cannot, by nature, be a very large piece of land or a very large portion of the human family. It is composed of the accents of the people among whom you were born and bred, their faces, clothes and customs. It is related to the peculiar characteristics of the neighborhood in which you were nurtured and came to manhood. The rich, full smell of the Oklahoma earth in summer after twilight falls; the indescribable glory of the Connecticut countryside in autumn; perhaps even the traffic and smog and noise of Greater Los Angeles. So far afield as these peculiarities can go, thus far does a natural patriotism attend you. Where the familiar accents fail, where the familiar plain ends in a forest, there does your natural patriotism end. For it is of a

territorial significance. It has its demography, its geography. Where these change, it ends. Natural patriotism can hardly go beyond a province, or a state. Territorial patriotism is the real "love for one's country, one's native land." And, much as Americans travel, the Vermonter is a stranger in Texas, the Mississippian despises Chicago, and the Iowa farmer never feels quite at home in California. He has lost identification. No American comprises in his breast the whole of the United States.

You and your people go back many thousands of years into time. Your generations are not numbered. You don't know whether they crawled up out of the slime or sprung from an ape or were created, full-blown, from dust and a rib. Folsom, Piltdown, Cro-Magnon or Neanderthal, you do not know. You know not whence they came, where they migrated or the cities they founded. You may be sure, however, that they strove and they suffered, discovered and departed, and were a part of what is known as the history of man's ever-broadening associations.

Your remote ancestors were patriotic—first to the family, then to the tribe, then to the clan, then to a city-state, then to a principality, then to a kingdom. They were loyal to a father, to a chief, a doge, a duke, and then to a king. They walked upon their hind legs, bestrode horses, made dugout canoes, sailed biremes, caravels and steamboats; rode in carts, chariots, prairie schooners, trains and automobiles.

By common agreement, by intermarriage or by conquest, little political units were made into larger ones. As the area of conflict expanded, political communities perforce expanded, so as to take in the area of conflict. Fear, if nothing else, dictated the process. You can make a good argument that Napoleon set out to conquer Europe because Europe wouldn't let the French Revolution alone, that he simply tried to unify the area of conflict. That's what he claimed, later on.

And now your less remote ancestors and you have been living for some time in political units known as nation-states. The main differences between a state and a nation-state are that nation-states are larger and more complex and sovereignty is less personalized. You no longer die for "le grand roi," for Catherine of Russia or for Good Queen Bess. You die for France, or for England, or for America.

You should note that, in your country, rule has never been personalized at all. The United States was, in this sense, the first of today's great nation-states. It was also the first nation in which allegiance was to be given to *institutions*, to ideas, to abstract notions of what was good. Patriotism was to consist, not in loyalty to a person, nor even to a geographical territory—what did the America of 1789 have to do with that territory which later became Louisiana or New Mexico or Oregon?

Patriotism was to consist in loyalty to the *institutions* which set America apart and which would later be extended to new areas called Louisiana, Arizona or Alaska. These institutions were found in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Thus there arose a new kind of patriotism which you may call Institutional Patriotism, as distinguished from Territorial Patriotism.

The education that you and your fellow citizens are exposed to does a very poor job of making clear to you just what American patriotism is and must be. So far as you know, the United States is just like any other country. Better, of course, but you couldn't explain why.

In this you are just like most people everywhere. Your nation is best because it is the biggest, most powerful, oldest, most scenic, has the best food in the world, least illiteracy, least crime, best-looking women. Anybody anywhere can find some reason why his is the best. But this is nothing at all except the thing the psychologists call the "In-group, Out-group" feeling. The idea here is that the people in your group are better than those people who are outside your group. There isn't any reason for this. The people in your group happened to be there more by chance than by design, and you don't like some of them any too well, but they are still better than those outside. Because these are Yours, whereas those other people are Theirs. It's natural, but it makes no sense. Be on guard against things that don't make good sense.

The individuals who take this feeling and apply it to your country and its problems are to be called Nationalists. They take the feeling of love which is in Patriotism and turn it into the feeling of hatred which is in Nationalism. Patriotism, whether territorial or institutional, is a thing that is positive. Nationalism is a negative thing. The one is warm; the other, cold. Patriotism builds cities; Nationalism destroys them. The one is the Bright Sister; the other, the Dark Sister.

Those who would build an enduring peace must be Patriots, loyal to the institutions that God appointed the Americans to create and defend. They will be opposed by the Nationalists, who would sacrifice these institutions to the Nation-God. You will glorify God. They will worship an idol. You are the civilized men, of good will. Can you stand up against brutes?

You need not pay much attention to the second world war, for it was like unto the first. You are not interested in results. You are interested in causes. And in the cures for causes.

The root cause was the same: Nationalism—absolute national sovereignty, answerable to nothing, and opposed to equally absolute sovereignty. But it was a nationalism grown more terrible. When a dumb

creature is wounded, but not killed, it becomes more fierce still. To compare Hitler's Germany with the Kaiser's is to compare blackest night with pleasant afternoon.

The proximate cause was the same: a balance of power attended by fears and ambitions and tensions so acute that blood was welcome—blood, and even the possibility of defeat. Mussolini had not only made the trains in Italy run on time. He had also built his nation into a military machine of just below the first rank. Hitler had mobilized—not just an army—but a whole people. Napoleon had been the first leader to mobilize a whole people, but Hitler did it with incredible completeness and fineness. In Japan, the militarists—the Nationalists, if you please—had taken over and fashioned a magnificent military machine. Japan had drunk of China's blood and had waxed great. Its province had become the world.

Hitler had won so many bloodless victories that he had come to believe in his own infallibility. This is the most treacherous thing that can happen to a man. Let him have implicit faith in his purposes—good or bad. But let him have similar faith in his methods, and he is long gone. Adolf Hitler was probably the most astonished man in Europe when, after he invaded Poland, Britain and France actually declared war.

The second world war was much more mobile than the first one had been, and covered a great deal more ground. Using his armored divisions like cavalry and dropping paratroopers behind enemy lines, Hitler could wipe Poland out in a few days, sweep the French and British into the English Channel in a couple of weeks, conquer Norway over a weekend, or plunge deep into Russia in a month. Whereas in the first world war the fighting had been pretty much limited to Europe and the North Atlantic, in the second war it raged all over Europe, North Africa, China, Japan, Southeast Asia, all the seas and the isles beyond the sea. It not only involved nearly every human soul in the world; actual combat occurred in nearly every part of the world. If you wish to fight truly a world war, it is very helpful to have things like airplanes. They help you destroy everything in less time than it otherwise would take. You can get around so much easier.

Your leaders pontificated at Hitler for a while over his bombing of civilian populations instead of restricting himself to a more discriminate elimination of military installations. But as time went on no one gave this much thought anymore. The idea of warriors as distinguished from non-warriors was dead. This was a war in which entire populations using all their resources were pitted against similar populations. It was massive; it was total. It was very Christian. When it came time for your

nation's president to decide whether and where to use the atomic bomb, it apparently did not even occur to him to use it on some large Japanese naval or army base. Instead it seems simply to have been a question of deciding which Japanese city was located in the right place and of the proper size so that it could be wiped off the face of the Earth with the bomb then available. You may wonder whether in later years Harry Truman sometimes dreamed of Hiroshima and awoke in the night screaming. Perhaps not.

If you propitiate the Nation-God, is there any other to worry about?

There is no room for morality in war. It isn't a question of right or wrong. It isn't how you play the game. It's whether you win or lose. It is a warped philosophy, therefore it can do naught except distort. War is so monstrously evil that it makes evil all whom it touches. Yet war is the natural and inevitable consequence of the nation system under which you live.

You should not assume that all the participants were equally bad—at least at the time the war started. The Japanese Government was even worse than the Chinese Government, partly because it was in the hands of worse men and partly because it was more efficient. The Italian Government was worse than the French Government because it worshipped the Nation openly while the French ministers merely quarreled away their government among themselves. Hitler's passionate immorality was worse than Stalin's dispassionate unmorality.

Mussolini and Hitler, to bolster Nationalism, had added the idea of Race. In Nazi Germany they had it worked out that the Nordics—meaning the Germans and a few others—would rule over the Latins, and that the Slavs would be slaves to both of them.

For the Jews a new idea had been provided. For the good of the German nation, a new notion called "Genocide" had been invented. This meant simply that all Jews in Germany were to be exterminated—killed, either quickly, or by starvation, or by being subjected to useful experiments to determine how the human body would react to, say, being frozen alive into a cake of ice for a few hours or days. The Poles were little better than Jews, and some Polish women were subjected to experimental operations which either killed them or broke them for life. Some of the surgeons evidently were Jewish. How crazy can the world be?

It took a great deal of war and a good many lives to get rid of that Witches' Sabbath known as the Third Reich.

You should learn what you can of what went on inside Nazi Germany so that you will know what you and your country can become. The

perversions practiced there were but a part of Hitler's Gospel of Nationhood. They were pieces of the process whereby he keyed up and nerved up the Germans to go out and achieve the Destiny of the German Nation. The German race had a Great Mission to fulfill, and if you were a True Believer wouldn't you condone many excesses in order to see the Mission realized?

You say you wouldn't—that the end doesn't justify the means. And that is correct, normally. But you'll find that, under Nationalism, the end does justify the means. There are many "goods." But what is the Great Good? The nation, of course. The Germans who went to church, loved their children and were kind to their neighbors, were confused. Did not God himself love Germany? Yes, then what was the right thing to do? They were confused. They did nothing. Those who did object ended up dead or in concentration camp. Ask yourself, what would you have done, if you had lived in Germany under Hitler? You'd have been scared to death. And Hitler knew how to instill fear, how to use it. And some day an evil president of your country may know how to use it. He'll put his own man in as head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and then he'll use the FBI and its files to control Congress and the generals, then use them against every one who opposes him.

You may not be a German, with *gotterdammerung* ringing in your ears, but you're not a whole lot different.

So the war ended after maybe forty million people had died. No one knows for sure—it depends mainly on whether you count Chinese as people. Probably the war caused more deaths; no one knows. Your country got off lightly, yet it lost more casualties in the second world war than it had in the Civil War, the bloodiest war up to that time.

They buried them in quicklime in the concentration camps. They stacked the bodies like cordwood in China. And many people's children wandered alone through the quiet streets of ruined cities.

You'll note that no one talks much anymore about your country staying out of other people's wars. That might have been an issue in 1917. It wasn't in 1941. Your country was kicked in. And it didn't even come from Europe. It was those nice little Japanese people who did it.

In Japan, and elsewhere, Nationalism reached a crescendo. In Germany it reached a shriek. It brought on another world war. Your country was dragged in too, which was fitting and proper inasmuch as it was your Mr. Wilson who misled Europe after the first war into thinking provision had been made to ensure lasting peace.

What was done after the second war to prevent future Nankings, future Belsens, future Hiroshimas?

XVIII *O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets,
and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often
would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen
gathers her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!*

—JESUS OF NAZARETH

Nothing was done after the second world war to prevent a third. The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God.

This time it was your Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Truman who failed you.

How can your statesmen keep making the same old mistake? Can they learn nothing from experience, or from your own country's history? Mr. Roosevelt did not have Mr. Wilson's intellectual capabilities. But he had attended reasonably good schools. He had been exposed to some history. Moreover, he had Wilson's grave error to profit by. His status in the second war was similar to Wilson's in the first war. He was the leader of what was called the free world. Roosevelt's prestige was enormous. He saw merely that the League of Nations had had to work without the United States as a member. So he merely proposed another league, of which your country would be a member.

The drafting of the United Nations Charter was begun under Roosevelt, completed under Truman. Of Truman perhaps you wouldn't expect too much. In any case, both of them ought to have known that a league never works. A league always fails, not just when the thirteen American states tried it, but always. Ask yourself, how can there be peace without government? Has there ever been, throughout the history of man, in any political unit however small or large? Is peace anything but a by-product of law? Enforceable law, that is; there isn't any other kind of law.

The United Nations Charter was accepted by the nations after the conference in San Francisco. The Charter did not set up a government, or any part of a government, or even the shadow of a government. It said "Will you please" or "Won't you" or "You ought to" but it never said "You will, or else." It never said "You won't, or else." You will search and search in vain throughout the Charter to find anything that is enforceable by the United Nations. Enforcement is left up to the Security Council where each of the big nations has a veto. Thus, El Salvador can perhaps be controlled, if the United States wants it to be. But El Salvador isn't a threat to anybody. Russia—or any of the so-called great powers, the countries that can start world wars—can't be controlled. How ridiculous can you get?

As a debating society the UN has its points. It is a good place for nations to get their National Honor involved and get good and mad at each other. It is a place where Russia or Britain or the United States can get a reasonably good idea just how unpopular some policy or proposed act will be. It's a sort of perpetual popularity contest.

The UN may be the world's best hope for peace. If so, you're in bad shape. As a peace-making organization it leaves everything to be desired. It's the offspring of statesmen too ignorant or too timid to think or act boldly. There are few prophets today. You'd better be your own prophet. You'll never get out of the wilderness at this rate.

Some people claim big things for the United Nations. They give it credit for making Russia withdraw from Northern Iran, for the Korean thing, for keeping Israel, Britain and France from occupying Egypt.

Actually, Russia withdrew from Iran because it was not ready for war; your country had the atom bomb, Russia didn't. Moreover, Russia was still recovering from the war. In Korea the United States intervened first, then got the United Nations to endorse that intervention. Get that sequence: your country moved first, without UN endorsement. And the vote of approval of UN action in Korea never would have been given if Russia hadn't "walked out" of the Security Council, leaving no representative there to cast a negative vote.

The Egyptian thing was the other side of the Iranian thing. By that time Russia had the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb too, and threatened to go to war over Egypt. England & Company were not willing to call the bluff, so they got out.

When you come right down to fundamentals, the UN is a conference of sovereign nations legally answerable to nothing, each supreme to the extent that it has actual power. It is not a political framework; it is not a legal system; it is not a government.

XIX

Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end . . . and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even for ever.—ISAIAH

If you want to get rid of war, you've got to get rid of national sovereignty. That is the price of peace. If, for some reason, your country's sovereignty is dearer to you than life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, then do as you like, but for God's sake quit mouthing fine words about peace, and Jesus, and so forth. If that's your attitude you are a Nationalist—a Nationalist of a peculiarly un-American type—and a pagan too. You are not a Patriot or a Christian or even a good conscientious Atheist. You are essentially evil and will bring evil. If, however, the things America has stood for are the important things to you, then you must do your personal best to get rid of American sovereignty and put something else in its place.

Please note this carefully: getting rid of American sovereignty means that your country will no longer be, even in theory, an independent nation. It means nothing less than that. Don't indulge yourself in any wishful thinking. If enduring peace comes—if your freedom and chance for happiness are made secure, then the sovereign independence established at Yorktown in 1781 must cease to exist.

Actually, of course, this independence of action—this absolute sovereignty, if you please—ended a long time ago. Some time prior to 1914. Your nation's freedom of action began to end then. Since then, it has been increasingly at the mercy of foreign governments. It is the fiction of sovereignty that lives on and dies hard. It dies hard because the worship of the Nation is an evil religion deeply imbedded in the diseased minds of men.

But it makes a big difference what you put in the place of American sovereignty. If you simply take the veto out of the United Nations charter and give the UN the supreme military power in the world, you'll probably get rid of national sovereignty all right, at least for a time. But you very likely would be fixing things so that the commanding general of the UN military forces would shortly appear before you as Big Brother, your dictator. Or the new set-up might just fall apart when the first strong wind came to blow—dissolving back into its component national pieces.

It's an important part of the American, or democratic, approach to things that power must be made to be responsible. It must be responsive. Responsive to what? Well, the men who have the power of using force to carry out the laws must be responsive to the judges who have the power of applying the laws to specific cases. And both of these executive and judicial branches must be responsive to the men who have the power to make the laws—to the legislators. And here's the important point: the men who make, adjudicate and execute the laws must be responsive to the people who must obey those laws. The best way that has been found to make them responsive to you is to have you elect them. This is the only even half-way decent method that has been found.

Why? Because this is your sovereignty that these men are going to exercise. It isn't the state's; it isn't the nation's. It is basically and forever your sovereignty. And if you are going to take back some of your sovereignty that your national government has been exercising and give it to some higher, broader government, you've got to do it the way free men do it.

You've got to write a World Constitution and dole out a bit of sovereignty to the Executive, a bit more to the Judiciary, and still more to the Legislative. But keep the vote for yourself. That is the big thing. Write that into the Constitution. Limit the kinds of laws they can write; circumscribe their authority; fix their terms of office; arrange it so they can be removed from office before their terms are up. Put something into that Constitution so that each branch of the new government can interfere a little bit with the others so they'll stay half-angry at each other. But always keep the vote for yourself and give it every guarantee you can think of. With integrity of the ballot, there's freedom. Without it, tyranny.

There's none of these things in the United Nations Charter. Note that they don't call it a Constitution. A Charter is more a statement of hope. A Constitution is the embodiment of its reality. And it's a much more serious undertaking.

There aren't any legislators in the UN. There are only ambassadors. You didn't elect them; they were appointed. They don't represent you; they represent the national governments which appointed them. They don't support your hopes and aspirations. They support national fears, ambitions and jealousies—all negative things. There is a World Court, but it has no law to interpret, or anyone to enforce it. When the UN, or something else, is given real power, the only thing you'll be able to keep is the preamble of the UN Charter. The rest will have to be re-written from top to bottom.

You want a new government because your national government can no longer do for you the things it used to be able to do. Your life, liberty and prosperity are in jeopardy. But you want to make sure that your new government is so set up that it can and will provide those things. You are looking for a situation in which neither you nor your loved ones can be conscripted for military service any longer; in which your worldly goods will not be confiscated through heavy taxes to pay for wars; in which no new Senator McCarthy can turn the country upside down and get away with the foulest acts in the name of Americanism; in which there are no loyalty oaths and loyalty cannot be demanded, but only freely offered; in which you need not live in fear of atomic and germ warfare; in which the devastation wrought elsewhere cannot be wrought upon your homeland; in which people beyond your own borders, in the back ways and forgotten places of the Earth, at last have an opportunity to know the good life, and you need not wince inside you each time you think of them. You are seeking—because you are a Christian, or at least something of a Jesuit—a new government, a new political framework so broad that it will take in all the area of conflict and provide the atmosphere within which freedom and prosperity may eventually come to all human beings, like you.

This cannot come to pass without a new government. But it must be a certain kind of a government—one of which Jesus and Jefferson would approve. It must be democratic in nature, so as to secure liberty; federal in framework, so it will prosper; and world-wide in scope, so it may protect life. These three principles depend each upon the other. If it be not democratic, there is no point in it. If it be not federal, it cannot come into being. If it be not world-wide, it does not comprise the area of conflict and cannot endure.

XX

They shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree; and none shall make them afraid.—MICAH

Now, a world government is not a retail-sized project. It is rather a large order. What are its chances of coming into existence? That is not really the question, not from your standpoint. If it is the thing that you and your people need, and need worse than anything else; if you are willing to justify your hitherto pointless existence, while you continue to eat the extra piece of bread that would have kept a Hindu infant alive another day, then you must make the attempt. You must try.

Even Jesus has not yet succeeded. Only a fraction of the people in the world are Christians by membership, whatever that means. How very few individuals, then, within or outside the Christian fold, are Jesus-ites in deed? But Jesus pushed the thing quite a ways forward. He tried. He did the best that was in him. That is all that is required of you. But no less.

There has never been a world government, whether free or tyrannical. There has always been anarchy as amongst independent—sovereign—political units? Yes, but those units have been getting larger, and fewer, all the time. Once the Earth was divided into thousands of independent political units. Today there are scarcely fifty of any relative consequence. And there have been several instances in history when the area of conflict was brought under one government. Huang Ti did it in what is now known as China. Asoka did it in what you know as India. Alexander did it. The Americans did it. The Assyrians, Egyptians, Babylonians, Romans, Moslems, the Franks under Charlemagne, the Mongols under Genghis Khan and the French under Napoleon—all these came close to doing it, in their day and in their area of the world.

The Greeks tried it, by agreement among themselves, but it turned out to be just a league. The federal principle hadn't been invented yet.

There have always been wars? Yes, but in many places and for long periods of time, there were only fringe wars. They were fought by a warrior class, or by paid mercenaries, and they didn't disturb the lives of the people. These wars you have been having are quite another thing. There have always been wars. But until recently there had always been slavery; there had always been female incompetence; there had always been political despotism; and poverty was accepted as the natural burden of the ordinary man. The Jesus Revolution carries on, and quite a lot of progress has been made since his day.

Actually, the chances of a world government coming into being look rather better when you compare that with its alternative. The alternative is a third world war and the termination of civilization as you know it. Which alternative is the more fantastic? The human race may be extinguished. Fish may have to evolve into men again. There may be a few survivors who make a new start from a new Dark Age. Or the war might end so quickly that there would be many survivors gathered together under the rule of the nation that fired the first missiles. If this happens, it probably won't be your nation. For your nation is not, yet, the kind of nation that is apt to fire the first missile. And, your nation's opportunity to force a peaceful solution ended when its atomic monopoly ended.

If world government does not come, the other thing—or one of its variations—will come. In any of them, civilization as you have known it will come to a close. The culture that has nurtured you will terminate. Which is the more improbable? Toward which alternative should you throw your weight?

The one thing that is sure not to happen is a continuation of things as they now stand. The status-quo is on the way out. The imbalance of power is coming into balance, again. Twenty-one years elapsed between the end of the first world war and the beginning of the second. How many years have passed since World War II?

Just what is the situation as you look around you?

XXI

How long, O Lord, how long?

HABAKKUK

The second world war left—besides its millions of dead, maimed, tortured, afflicted and destitute—many changes in the map of the world and far-reaching changes in the power in the world. Latvia, Esthonia and Lithuania left the map and several new countries joined it, either then or within a few years afterwards.

Poland was enlarged, Germany cut back down and divided, Japan required to disgorge. Italy gave up any claim to Ethiopia, Russia added a bit, and your country took on a few new islands.

But the map changes are not too important. The important thing is the new alignment of power in the world.

The United States and Russia emerged from the war as two super-nations who are in a class by themselves so far as power is concerned. France, Britain, Japan and West Germany became second-rate powers. Italy went back to being a third-rate power.

The European nations were too weakened by the war to hold their old colonial empires intact. If Japan had any historical mission, it was not the one the Japanese militarists had in mind. It was, rather, to destroy the myth of white supremacy.

It is to the credit of these white-man nations that, in some instances, they granted independence instead of waiting for it to be taken. India became independent and almost overnight became a nation to be reckoned with. It is a symbol of something important which you will want to look at later. The United States did not do anything else right with respect to China but at least it did not attempt to send its troops into the civil war there, as it had with respect to the Russian Revolution in 1918.

The Communists took over and China has become an important power in the world.

Old colonies have become new nations in many parts of Southeast Asia and Central Africa. Even the old Arab countries of the Middle East and North Africa—asleep for a thousand years—have awakened and are going through deep transformations.

Two great powers, Russia and your country. The decline and fall of the colonial empires. The rise of India and China. The awakening of the Moslem world. These are the new developments to think about.

Russia, you will recall, was your country's great ally during the second world war. As in a western motion picture, there are "good ones" and "bad ones." Russia was a good one. Remember the propaganda? Stalin was not a bad chap, at all. Grumpy, perhaps, and a bit inscrutable. But really quite a fatherly old fellow, leading his people to a better life. Japan was a bad one. There was something basically wrong with the German and Japanese people, that they should create such monster, warlike governments.

But now a new tune has been called and you, as a good citizen, are required to dance to it. You'll note that the partners have changed. Russia is now a bad one, whereas Germany and Japan are good ones. China, which used to be a good one, is now a bad one. There is just something in the Russian and Chinese people that hadn't been noticed before but is now seen to have been evil all along. But Germany, Japan, and Italy, decked out in their new democratic clothes, are much more attractive folks than had been thought.

The truth is that there are no "good ones" among sovereign nations. They are all "bad ones." Each of them is suspicious, proud, jealous, unruly, and walks armed to the teeth through the asphalt jungle. Each nation is a Mafia bandit who runs with a gang—changes gangs, but always runs in a gang. They are beyond the law. They are outlaws. Moral monsters, all of them. A nation never has any perspective—can never look at itself objectively. That which is "good" is whatever advances its designs. It takes you in because it makes you feel warm inside, titillates you and thrills you. A nation-state is clever, and stupid, too, because it itself—its very government—is constantly in a condition of monstrous self-deception.

The United States and Russia were all set, at the end of World War II, for a great power struggle. This was necessarily so because they were now the only two big beasts left in the jungle. There were only two tigers; the rest were now leopards and smaller denizens. It took both countries only a little while to realize this. Russia figured the small fry

along her borders were hers by right of conquest, or something. Your country reasoned that any accretion of power to Russia was a diminution to American power. Hence the trouble over Eastern Europe and the Azerbaijan province of Iran. The argument was not carried on in these terms. Both sides were pious. Russia wanted "people's republics" in these countries. The United States wanted "free elections" and accused Russia of breaking her solemn treaty obligations.

Please note that there has never been any such thing as a "solemn treaty obligation." A treaty is a statement of the things that two or more nations have in common at the moment, or what they are willing to appear to have in common at the moment. A nation cannot break its word. It has no word. It cannot dishonor itself. It has no honor. Only individuals, people like you, can have "honor" or "morals" or "merit." For these are moral judgments and only individuals can have morals. A nation is an artificiality. It is not even a group of persons. It is an idea, an abstraction that can only be understood in terms of the power which it, for one reason or another, can command. The nation-state has arrogated to itself great power and has clothed itself in a fictitious personality of great virtue, but it is a monster which has come to owe no duty to what is right or to the individuals whose power it has consumed. It serves only its own godhead—which is mere naked power—and anything it does is right. Hence the sad experience that treaties, leagues and charters are scraps of paper to be embossed with fine seals today and to sail in the wind tomorrow.

Stalin had to sign a treaty to protect Russian power and get home safe from the war. Dulles crammed a peace treaty down Japan's throat in the bluntest fashion possible, and Japan signed it to get shut of the war, knowing her star could rise again. Solemn obligations, indeed.

Russia and your country required the smaller animals to choose sides. Some have; some haven't. People will go a long way in support of what they think is good. Thus the propaganda which your government directs day and night at you, its allies, the neutral nations and the peoples in the Russian orbit is full of phrases like freedom, democracy, the free world, the iron curtain, the Russian Bear, Communist imperialism, and the like. American political freedom has long been a light to the world, so it is capitalized upon and prostituted, and is effective. Russian propaganda directed at its own people, its allies, its assumed enemies, and the uncommitted nations is full of phrases such as bread and meat, equality and fraternity, liberation, colonialism, oppression, and Western imperialism. Russia, as the first country to attempt socialism, has brought a large

measure of economic justice and betterment to its people. It capitalizes on this, prostitutes it, and it is effective.

Russia has a better fifth column and uses it to advantage. Your country has more money and uses it to advantage.

Looking over the scene, you would figure at the moment that Russia could count on Eastern Europe, China, North Korea, Viet Nam and possibly Iraq. Your country could count on Western Europe, Greece and Turkey, Tunisia, Iran and Pakistan, Israel, Japan, the Philippines, Australia, the Union of South Africa, and all of Latin America. You'll note that the free world includes such admirable republics as Trujillo's Dominican Republic and such lesser scandals as Nicaragua, Paraguay, Iran and Pakistan. Egypt and Syria are presently in neither camp but could change any day. You should examine your government's policy toward Egypt over the past few years if you want to see something really unbelievable.

India, Indonesia and most of Southeast Asia, and much of Africa are not committed to either power bloc. Some of these areas are still in colonial or semi-colonial status to Western European countries, but might not stay that way for five minutes in case of war. They are, so far as their own will is concerned, uncommitted.

And, of course, there is Yugoslavia. You may well have wondered why Russia gets so worked up about Yugoslavia's independent line. Yugoslavia is Communist, but uncommitted, and Tito plays both ends against the middle. Well, here is the reason. The Russian leaders know that there is no Russian copyright on the Marxist movement, but if they admit this openly they forfeit the most powerful instrument of Russian power that they possess: namely, the Communist international movement. To the extent that Russia can make contact with an individual abroad who is sympathetic to the need for economic justice, and indoctrinate him in Leninist thinking, and discipline him to the point where he perceives that the end justifies the means, and that Russia is the only means by which justice will ever come to his country—to that extent Russian foreign policy has gained a valuable tool. Even Nationalism may not shake him, for he has changed gods—he thinks. He is really just serving the Russian god, but he doesn't know that. He is a changed man. Like the Jesuit, he has no longer a will of his own. He obeys implicitly, for his faith is great. The head of the Soviet Communist Party, who is likewise the head of the Russian state, is the High Priest of this religion. Tito is a heretic, says Russia, and Russia says this not because Tito's doctrine is especially different, but because he has violated the discipline which is Russia's great asset abroad. Yugoslavia in itself is not very

important, but Russia would crush the Titoists by force, if practicable, for the same reasons which caused the Pope's loyal supporters to massacre and wipe out the Albigensian heresy.

For reasons of state, this question of which country holds the High Priesthood is very important among the Communist nations. Thus there is rivalry for it now between Russia and China. Mao Tse-tung is an older prophet than any of the current Russian leaders. But China still needs Russian help to develop its country. Where else can China turn? Thus Russia continues to be "the greatest among equals."

If war were to occur now, China almost certainly would support Russia, and on the whole the Russian bloc appears dependable. There are many weak spots among the nations in the American bloc. Since De Gasperi died, Italy's governments have been shaky. The French finally had to call in De Gaulle as a referee in bankruptcy and it remains to be seen what will come of this. He is advanced in years and his heir apparent might, under certain circumstances, set up a fascist regime. In West Germany, Adenauer is very old and it is hard to guess what sort of government might take his place. Probably it will depend upon the degree of prosperity and peace at that time, but a return to fascism is not out of the question. Iran, under a Shah who has done little to bring economic justice to his people, is a very weak spot. In the Philippines, corrupt government and great poverty can produce nearly anything. Japan is prepared to change sides, if necessary, but probably will stay in the American bloc so long as she can export her produce and remain reasonably prosperous. In South Africa there is the possibility of an uprising by the natives and Indians against the Europeans. It would happen tomorrow if it had the slightest chance of success. No doubt Russia is doing all she can to help things along.

Among the neutral nations, which are also undeveloped nations, countries which recently emerged from colonial status or which are in the process of doing so, the most important country is India.

In India an experiment of tremendous importance is taking place. This experiment will determine whether a nation whose people enjoy political freedom can lift itself up economically, by its bootstraps, high enough and rapidly enough to prevent totalitarian forces from stepping in and taking over. It can be done under a totalitarian government. Italy made substantial economic progress under Mussolini. Germany was no backward country, industrially speaking, when Hitler took over, but it was in economic chaos when he came to power. He restored order and the country developed swiftly during his regime. Russia has done

in forty years what it took your country to do in a hundred. China, under the Communists, is very rapidly pulling itself up.

There are economists who believe that only a totalitarian government, which can throw humane considerations aside and starve the people if necessary, is in position to force the creation of capital and organize the means of production in such a way as to industrialize a backward country—to create prosperity out of poverty, and do it quickly. In India this great question is being decided. You may regard it as a race between China and India. Chiang Kai-shek did not have the answer that China needed. Mao Tse-tung convinced the Chinese people that he did have an answer. Nehru is given the same opportunity that Chiang had. If the Nehru experiment fails, totalitarianism will take the place of freedom. If India becomes involved in a war, this surely will happen. There are many very wealthy men in India. Conceivably they might set up a strong man—a kind of fascism. But the vast majority of the people are so very poor that a Communist government would shortly take over.

Whether a Communist government in India would be independent, or loyal to the High Priest in Moscow, cannot be known. But your country's government has consistently—for nearly fifty years now—made the mistake of assuming that its enemy was some foreign ideology. It has diagnosed the disease as kaiserism, or as fascism, or as communism, and has always used the same remedy—war. But if the diagnosis is false, the prognosis must be worthless. The disease was—and is—nationalism. The disease lies in the nation-state system itself, and the Germans, Italians, Russians and Japanese are its victims the same as you are. The system must be changed. There is no other remedy.

The contest in your world today is not between democracy and communism, any more than the contest leading up to World War II was between democracy and fascism, nor the contest before that between democracy and kaiserism. The contest today is between democracy and nationalism. It is between freedom and anarchy. Either there will be established a rule of law throughout the world, under which political freedom, where it now exists, cannot be twisted and wrecked by war—under which freedom will eventually find a favorable climate in all countries; or war and the threat of war will persist. And even if war is long postponed, you will find that in the interim all nations with democratic traditions—including Britain and your own nation—will become totalitarian. In the course of preparing for war, all nations will become garrison states. There is no freedom in a garrison. It cannot be permitted. Your life will become so regimented that—whether it be called Fascism, Communism or Americanism—your government will have robbed you of

your freedom on the excuse that it was protecting you. New McCarthys and Nixons will arise. Congress will become completely the tool of the FBI and the military. One party will rule the country, subject to the will of the secret police and the army.

There will be freedom in every land, in a governed world, or there will be tyranny in every land, in a world of anarchy.

Your so-called leaders do not see this. They see only the balance of power. They do not regard you. They regard the Nation. So, as you look around you, you see a situation quite similar to that before 1914, and to that before 1939. Here are Russia and China, and their allies, occupying a great land mass. The nations in this bloc have common frontiers and interior lines of communication. Opposing them are your country and its allies, and you have the Russians and their allies almost completely ringed about with treaties of alliance and air bases and so forth. The seas are yours, as they were in both the other world wars. Your side has the edge in terms of basic power—industrial capacity and raw materials—just as it had in 1917 and 1941. But your confederation is loose, has weak points, and long lines of communication—now, as then. And now, as then, the other side is beginning to take the lead in terms of immediate striking power. In this instance, it is missiles. Russia has taken the lead in missiles. There is now, from her standpoint, the possibility of a quick knockout. This is the same possibility the Central Powers saw in 1914 and the Axis Powers saw in 1939. Also, now as then, your side sees the likelihood that in a few years the other side may get the upper hand in terms of basic power, for Russia and China are developing their economies very fast.

You need not try to figure out whether Russia really wants to conquer the world. You do not need to get inside the minds of her leaders to get this information. What their ambitions for conquest may be is quite beside the point. In the anarchic world in which you live—under the law of the jungle, the mere needs of national self-preservation require that the nation conquer the world. You must understand this, for it is very basic to your problem. Whether by diplomacy or by force, Russia must attempt this. The command to make the effort lies in the very nature of the nation-state system. Lacking any control over other nations, how can a nation make itself secure? How can the area of conflict be brought under control? By conquest. You see, the Russians have made the same mistake that your leaders have made. They think their enemy is capitalism, just as your leaders think their enemy is communism. They are not smart enough to see that it is nationalism. But they are shrewd enough to grasp the need for conquest. After all, they were raised in the

power school of thought. Your leaders weren't. What are they doing?

Your so-called leaders are running around frantically trying to counter every diplomatic initiative that Russia thinks up in the power politics game, and they have been doing this for many years. They plug the dike here; it breaks through there. They haven't had a really effective new idea since Truman's Point Four, to help underdeveloped countries develop themselves, and they didn't take that seriously. It had too much of a Jesus sound to it. This good idea is now being carried out by World Neighbors, a private organization with headquarters in Washington. Your country's foreign aid is now predominantly military.

These leaders of yours don't realize how ridiculous they look. They are like the emperor in his new clothes, who was really naked. They actually think they are good at the power politics game. Yet they get it all mixed up with their false diagnosis of the problem. They think communism is the enemy, instead of Russia. They think Russia is the enemy, instead of the nation-state system.

If a Communist government took over in India tomorrow, even though it might prove to be as independent from Moscow as is Tito's Yugoslavia or Mao Tse-tung's China, these leaders of yours would undoubtedly kick it in the face and drive it into the Russian bloc.

This is what comes of sloppy thinking. If a nation is going to play power politics, it might at least play them smart. There is no hope there, of course, but a virtuoso performance has some value in itself. But your leaders don't play it smart. It's not that they are bad men. They are simply confused men. They listen to the propaganda they feed to you and to the peoples abroad and believe it themselves. They know it doesn't make for peace to call the Russian leaders sons-of-bitches, but they do it and then they think, well, it is a crusade, isn't it? It's a crusade against communism—for democracy. Are your leaders supporting great principles or playing power politics? They don't know. They can't think straight.

One day they think they are Talleyrand, the super diplomat, and they are either "containing the Soviet Union" (your Mr. Acheson) or "going to the brink of war" (your Mr. Dulles). The next day they are Jesus and Jefferson, preaching a sermon on Christianity and Democracy to the annual convention of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America.

Of course, they explain to themselves that on the first day they were being practical, whereas on the second day they were just making a gesture toward American idealism. They don't *know* what is practical. They don't know the cure for your dread disease, or haven't the guts to

prescribe it. They want to be Eighteenth Century diplomats, bewigged and powdered, clever servants of His Majesty, who plan their brilliant moves and counter-moves as they dance a stately minuet. But that isn't what they are. They are Americans, in their hearts. And that is why they are confused.

But therein lies your hope, and the world's hope. And therein lies your duty, as an American.

But, first, you have heard that to him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin. And even Jesus once prayed to God, "if it be thy will, let this cup pass from my lips."

XXII

Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, no knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest.—ECCLESIASTES

If you hear of something which you think perhaps you ought to do, and yet wish not to do it—for whatever reason—your best way out is to find something wrong with the thing so that you may, in “good conscience,” not do it. For if you find major fault in it, you are excused from this duty and may seek another—or none. This is the restful thing to do, and you may take your comfort to your grave.

Speak up. What are your objections?

There is not enough sense of community in the world to establish the basis for a world federation, you say. Not enough “togetherness.”

This is a very learned objection. Experts think of this one. You must observe, however, that throughout history a sense of community is something which has been produced by having a common government. A sense of community has seldom preceded the formation of a common government. To go far back to a rude day, the women captured from their home tribes and carried away to become the wives of other tribesmen came eventually, through the having of children and long residence, to adopt the alien tribe as their own. The Italian peasant, who had long owed allegiance to the dukes of Parma, lived in a village which was conquered by the Duke of Milan, and he or his son came to think of himself as Milanese. A Virginian was a Virginian first, and an American second, until generations after your Constitution was adopted.

The peoples of the world today have very little in common except the most important things. They get up in the morning, put on their pants—or whatever substitutes for pants—eat breakfast, go to work, get

married, have children, laugh, cry, worry about tomorrow, get drunk, go to worship, repent of their sins and commit more, cuss their government, hate taxes, dread conscription, fear war and long for peace. For that matter, under a world government, there will still be Americans, Russians, Indians, South Africans, Guatemalans. The nations will retain their identities and their governments. Only in the slow, solemn course of time will identity with a common government become established in the individual's heart, as well as his mind. After all, Singer sewing machines and Coca-cola are universal, because they filled a need and a desire.

But, you say, how can there be a world government when the people don't even speak the same language?

There is no doubt that a common language would help, but it is far from a major difficulty. In your own country, French, Spanish and many other European and Oriental languages are still spoken. As a better example, take two other federal nations. In Canada, French and English are both important languages. In Switzerland, three tongues are of almost equal importance—German, French and Italian. Moreover, in the Swiss federation, these people really are German, French and Italian, but they have come to consider themselves Swiss before anything.

In the course of time, a world federation will develop a common language. Probably the Latin alphabet (the one you know) will win out but will include a few Cyrillic (Greek and Russian) letters which do the job better than their Latin equivalents. The international languages of today are English and French, and you might expect that the mixture, or patois, that eventually develops will resemble them a bit more than it does other tongues. Do not scorn a patois. Every great language of today is a patois. A world language, Esperanto or something else, might be devised for official use, especially in the military contingents, but you may doubt that any artificial tongue would eventually be spoken in all parts of the world. You would certainly see the schools, all over the world, begin to emphasize foreign languages. But disagreement doesn't arise primarily from failure to communicate precisely; it arises from more basic differences of opinion and of self-interest.

And this suggests to you the point that the human animal, whose nature is not going to undergo any basic change during the next millennium, simply is an argumentative and fighting sort of creature.

Well, this is very true. Humans are that way and they are going to stay that way. But this has nothing to do with war. You've had internal peace in your city, your county, your state and your nation for many years—for generations—yet there are still fist fights, and knifings and

murders. All this point does is to establish the need for law, at any level of human society. The disorderly individual is arrested and taken before a judge and is penalized. The general peace is maintained by law. There aren't any policemen at the international level. Hitler or any other hoodlum can raise Cain throughout the world and get a whole modern nation to back him. Under a world federal government, people like Hitler would simply be arrested by federal police and taken before a judge. If a nation tried to shield him, then of course the nation would have to be dealt with, but this is highly unlikely if the nation no longer possesses the tools of modern warfare. No, you can go ahead and fight. But you won't be able to start a world war.

You've heard your minister at the church say that there can be no peace until all the world becomes Christian. What about this?

Well, if all the people in your country were really Christians—that is, people who do as Jesus would have them to do—you wouldn't need any government at all in your country. As it is, most of the people in your country are professing Christians, yet you still need government, don't you? There is no magic in church membership. People, whether Christians or Buddhists, still need government. Even very good people can have violent differences of opinion, and conceivably these could lead to fair-sized little wars. These used to happen, in the days of clans and princes, but feuds are pretty much out now, so far as real violence is concerned, because of law—enforceable law. Unless there is another war, which will brutallize mankind and set it back many centuries, there will continue to be progress toward that inner peace in the individual which Jesus had in mind. But here we are just talking about outer peace—and not between individuals at that, but between nations. And your minister had better worry a little about whether there will be any people left. His job is to lead his flock. But he needs a flock.

You heard a prominent lady say that if people will just leave the United Nations alone, and not criticize it, it will develop gradually into just what the world needs. What it needs, she said, is not your criticisms, but your prayers. What about it?

The UN doesn't need your prayers; you do. You've heard of people not having a prayer to go on, haven't you? Well, that's your situation. The UN is nothing and it never will be unless people criticize the hell out of it. The UN is not a living organism that can soak in sun and moisture and add cells and grow leaves and put out arms or branches. It is not a being; it is a thing. And it will stay just what it was in the first place unless living beings like you change it. And how can you change it if you don't look at what is wrong and tell other people about it?

Why can't we just have a disarmament agreement and an inspection system to be sure the agreement is honored?

Well, your country has been trying this, off and on, since World War II and it hasn't gotten anywhere because the Russians haven't agreed. If the Russians did agree, your country would probably withdraw the suggestion for fear that something fishy was going on. That's the way things are these days.

What about an inspection system? Suppose a UN inspector, Mr. X, is stationed in Moscow and has left on a trip to inspect Russian military installations in Siberia. He is gone quite a while and the UN wonders what happened to him. The Russians don't know. When last seen, they say, he had passed out in a bar in Irkutsk, or was asleep in a house of prostitution in Smolensk. What's the UN going to do? They don't know whether he is dead, kidnapped, or something else. While they decide what to do, five thousand missiles are suddenly fired at your country and Western Europe? It's all over. How could the people in your country even know where they were coming from? Maybe Germany fired them, or even Switzerland.

Suppose the inspector goes to Siberia and flies all over Siberia. He sees nothing out of the way. Twenty-four hours later the missiles are fired from holes in the ground all over Siberia. How do you detect a missile fired from a hole in the ground? How do you detect underground atomic tests? How do you detect germ warfare? How do you do anything in time to prevent the big thing from happening?

Suppose the inspector finds something in Siberia that he doesn't like. He puts it up to the Russian commander on the spot. "Yes, that's right. We agreed to inspection as long as it suited our needs. But in the meanwhile we've been busy. We're ready now." They knock him on the head and fire their missiles. You had inspection. It was foolproof. The inspector caught the violation. But you're in World War III.

In a world federation nations won't retain their armies and instruments of warfare. All they'll have will be a police force to keep order in their own nations. The armies will be international—they'll wear the uniform of the federation and each military force will be made up of units from several different nations, and military forces made up this way will be in charge of the instruments of warfare and of the military installations, and they will have the right to check every factory in Russia from basement to roof.

This means power, of course, great decisive power. And that is the big reason—there are others—why you must have a full government of legislative, executive and judicial branches, replete with checks and bal-

ances and responsible to individuals like you. A government responsible to the individual, and which can arrest and take to justice the individual or individuals who threaten peace—a government which need not move against a whole nation in order to get at the peace-breakers. No, disarmament enforced only by inspection powers is merely a recipe for sudden war, unpremeditated and without time to be sure where the threat came from, or—possibly—even whether the threat was real. You and the world would feel better if Russia would agree to inspection. Russia appears able to refuse that without prejudicing herself in world opinion. But let Russia try to refuse an offer of real federation and see where she stands in world opinion—even with her own satellites and even with her own people.

Where does your country, with less than a tenth of the world's population, come out in a world federation? How about China and India and those other countries with huge populations?

You can be sure of one thing: in any world legislature your country is going to be outvoted by foreigners. But countries are not going to be represented in such a legislature according just to their population. Voting power in the legislature will be the subject of the most bitter bargaining you can imagine. India and China will want it based on a counting of noses. Your country will want it based on the number of television sets or cars or telephones or bathtubs, or on the total bank deposits in each nation. Russia will want it based on the number of missiles or the number of square miles. It will be quite a scene. Yet, in the long run, when the argument comes down to the wire, voting power will be based simply upon the total power from all sources—people, industrial plant, raw materials, military potential, etc.—which a nation commands. Voting power will end up, after all is said and done, as a pretty close approximation of the influence which the nation wields, for good or bad. Voting power will be in proportion to the nation's capacity for independent action which will be surrendered to the federation. Your country and Russia quite possibly would have delegations of more or less equal size; China, Britain, India and France, less; and so on. The Lebanon, which now has the same number of representatives in the UN General Assembly as your country, would not have a very large delegation. The General Assembly pattern, one vote per nation, is an absurdity. Small wonder the UN was given no power.

Whatever the final formula, the delegation of each nation would have to be elected by the individual citizens—or subjects—of that nation, with each delegate assigned to a geographical district. In the beginning, in many countries, this voting would not amount to much, for in effect

the whole delegation would be named by one man or by one party. Such delegations would vote in the world legislature as blocs. But bloc-voting would beget bloc-voting by other nations and in the course of time—especially when people come to see that the decisive military power has passed from their governments to the world government—there will be less fear of the dictator, less awe of the party, and delegates will eventually vote in accordance with their individual opinion of an issue, modified of course by the character of their constituencies, that is, farmer, laborer, merchant, and so forth. The delegate will wish to be elected for another term, so he will consult what the folks at home want. A world legislature might be no better—but no worse—than your present federal Congress. Chances are it would be better than the state legislatures which you now endure.

You ought to keep it in mind that you are not going to write the Constitution of the World Federation. Therefore any blueprint you might endorse wouldn't mean too much. It would be a straw man for others to tear down. However, you might like to think about the possibilities of a two-house legislature. The lower house might have its representation based purely on a counting of noses, whereas the upper house might have its composition based upon the factors other than population. China and India would have large delegations in the lower house; Britain and France would have large ones in the upper. Russia would have the edge over your country in the lower house; the United States would have the largest delegation in the upper house.

But to base voting power in a world federation on mere population would be as unrealistic as the present situation in the UN General Assembly.

Why don't you just consider a federation of the democratic nations and leave out these other people? Wouldn't such a federation be more practicable? Wouldn't it work more smoothly? Couldn't it be brought into being sooner? Might it not develop gradually into a world federation?

There is much in what you suggest. Yet, as to gradualism, you must understand that between where the nations stand now, and where they must very soon get, there is a chasm. This chasm is bottomless. Therefore, if you wish to cross this chasm, you must do it in one step. Two will not get the job done. You can't creep before you walk this time. It would have been possible fifty or perhaps even twenty-five years ago. You're at the place now where you've got to jump.

The area of conflict is world-wide. This has been proven twice, and bids fair to be proven again unless you act. Indeed, it is proven in the headlines that you read every day of this cold war. Your country's fron-

tiers are found in every degree of latitude and longitude. The area of conflict must be brought under one rule of law, simply because nothing less is sufficient.

No doubt a federation of democratic nations could be given wider powers than a world federation, with perhaps fewer checks and balances. Most of the things that your federal government now has responsibility for could be given to a federation of democratic nations, whereas only a few of them can be given to a world federation. Yet, what would a democratic federation be? Merely the United States and Western Europe? A white man's federation? Russia would pick up the rest of the marbles and you'd be in for war for sure. Or perhaps these nations plus the Latin American republics, South Africa, Australia, Israel, India, the Philippines, and what remains of the British and French and Belgian colonial empires? It would no longer be just a white man's federation. What would it be? It would be the complete polarization of the world into the Russian and American camps, for here again Russia would pick up what you didn't want. You'd have a pretty even split; your federation would have more power; Russia's would have more people. You'd have something a little closer to an even balance of power than you have now. You'd be a little bit closer to actual war than you are now. Actually, of course, war would probably develop in the process of dividing the world into two federations. From the point of view of power politics, it would be merely an extension of what your country and Russia are attempting now. You may doubt that a "democratic federation" would provide any better chance for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness than you have now.

Any step toward federation—any first little move toward breaking down the myth of the nation-state—any challenge hurled in the face of the Nation-God—any demonstrated desire to turn away from the false god—anything of this kind would be welcome. Whether it be a federation of your country and Canada, or of them and Mexico, or of other so-called sovereign nations—any federation would be a good in and of itself. But it would not be adequate, and the time may be short.

The invitation to federation must be world-wide, universal, embracing all peoples. The political framework must embrace the area of conflict. It must be democratic in structure, bearing in mind that nearly all nations have had experience with at least the *forms* of republican government and that most peoples earnestly desire to add the *substance* of democratic government. In time, they would add the substance, thanks to their own efforts, to their being associated with other nations of long democratic traditions, and to the fact that supreme military power would

have passed to a higher government. Meanwhile, the individual must be guaranteed, in a bill of rights, against improper acts by the federal government. The conditions of the invitation would be few. The work of making the federation would be long and arduous, but it could not fail. It could not fail because of the alternatives—death, desecration, and despair.

The response to such an invitation will be a wonder not yet seen by you or your forefathers. It will be an overwhelming "Aye." It will be a murmured "Thank God." And they will say: To us whose days have been spent without hope, thou hast opened a door of hope."

But this invitation will not be made unless your country offers it. For your country has the power and it has the prestige. America has the tradition.

XXIII

Whence comest thou? what is thy country? and of what people art thou?—JONAH

You Americans have been a peculiar people. You left Europe and Africa and Asia and went into a new country. You did this because you wanted religious freedom or political liberty or a better living or simply because things back home were getting too rough for you. Some of you were dragged away and shipped across in the holds of foul ships. You were slaves, criminals, indentured servants, bankrupts, shopkeepers, solid yeomen. A few of you were gentlemen.

You fought, got drunk, ploughed the soil, tamed the wilderness, built cities, and prayed. You've never been a bit better than anyone else. You have been full of iniquity and far from purified. Yet you have always been a peculiar people, zealous of good works. Why?

That is a hard one to answer. It is almost as though God took a hand, early in the game. The people who came here first were people who felt that they had a mission. They were good people, when they weren't drowning human beings for witches. They felt the yoke of God upon them and were very earnest. They seem to have communicated their earnestness and sense of mission to everyone who came along later.

Most of you have been connected in some way with a Christian church. There have been Catholics in your country since almost the beginning, especially in Maryland. However, most of you have been what are loosely called Protestants (due in part to the circumstance that Henry the Eighth wanted to get rid of one wife and take another).

The early New Englanders belonged to what the Church of England termed Non-Conformist churches. The Puritans were what you now know as Congregationalists. The Baptists non-conformed to them, split

off and settled Rhode Island. The Methodists non-conformed later to the Church of England, split off and became a large sect in your country. This process of non-conforming and splitting off is still going on.

America has been a nation of non-conformist protestants, by and large. Americans have refused to conform. They have protested. This spirit has become a part of the culture of your country and is shared by Protestants, Catholics and Jews.

Americans refused to conform to George III or to the political institutions of that day. The earlier insistence upon religious freedom led to the desire for political freedom, and this was established. Americans refused to conform to female incompetence, and this was abolished. Americans protested against child labor, long hours and low wages, foul factories, and the lock-out and strike-breaking, and these too were changed. Americans protested against liquor and this too—for a time—was abolished by law.

Americans have indeed been a peculiar people. A race of zealots? Perhaps. Perhaps they dipped too far into human nature on the liquor matter, but you will agree that it was a magnificent effort. You'll note too that economic justice was established in your country without socialism—that is, without state ownership of the means of production. There is a caninness or wisdom about Americans in their non-conformity, their mass movements and their revolutions. They realized that state-ownership really means Government ownership and that if the Government owned the economy it might soon own you too. So economic justice was made real in your country through Government regulation—not through Government ownership.

And thus it is that all of America's great reforms have made sense. They have extended and made ever more sure that political freedom which was their first great contribution to the world. They have never prejudiced that political freedom, for it is the fountain of all good things. America has been a land of practical visionaries, of realistic idealists. Mass movements have not come before their time. There has been conformity until the need arises to non-conform. A protest is not made until it is obviously justified.

But when an American realizes that there is an evil absurdity in his midst that violates conscience and sense, then he arises and defies the evil thing.

That is what the American tradition has been in the past. That is what he is still supposed to be. He knows it. And that is what he will be—that is what he will do—if *you help him along*. Point out the evil

absurdity and he will perceive it. He will rise by the millions and say to his so-called Statesmen:

"I am he whose ancestors came in the Seventeenth Century to Plymouth, to Jamestown, and to Santa Fe; who explored a wilderness and made a new land, a land to which you would lay waste.

"I am he whose forefathers in the Eighteenth Century fought at Yorktown, in a war that was necessary; who signed the Declaration of Independence; and who wrote the Federal Constitution. I am he whose forefathers bought with their lives the political justice that you would forfeit.

"I am he whose great-grandfathers in the Nineteenth Century died at Vicksburg in a war which was tragic but necessary. I am he whose great-grandparents abolished slavery and established the social justice which you would forfeit.

"I am he whose great-grandparents came to this country from the old countries and accepted the American covenant, the covenant which you have disregarded and forgotten.

"I am he whose father gave women the rights of human beings. I am he whose father established that economic justice which you would forfeit. I am he whose father fought in world war one, a war which could have been justified, but never has been.

"I am he who fought in world war two, a war which never could have happened if your League of Nations had been effective. I am he whose brother was killed in this war—a war which might have been justified if your United Nations had been truly that.

"I am he whose loyalty you have demanded when I would freely have given it. I am he whose passport you seek to deny. I am he whose freedom you would sacrifice upon the altar of the Nation-God.

"I am he whom you have taxed to the limit. I am he whose savings you have confiscated by cheapening my currency. I am he whom you have conscripted into military service.

"I am he who created this country. And yet, in the name of Nation, you commit every crime in the lexicon. You lie, you cheat, you steal, you spy, you maim and you kill.

"It is time you stopped thinking about nations and started thinking about people. What is the nation but me? What is a government but an instrument to serve my purposes? If you take my life, my liberty and my bread, you do not serve me. You serve another. You were created to protect me. I gave you sovereignty over me. But you cannot protect me. You can only ruin me.

It is indeed a long while since you have been able to protect me. It is a long while since you have been sovereign. You are not free or inde-

pendent or master of your own destinies. You cannot control what happens to you. How can you control what happens to me? No, you have not been sovereign for a long while.

"In 1917 my destiny was decided in Berlin, not in Washington. In 1941 my destiny was decided in Tokyo, not in Washington. And today my future is being decided in Moscow, not in Washington.

"Before 1917 you tried diplomatic negotiations and they did not work. Before 1941 you tried a League of Nations, vast disarmament conferences and the Kellogg Peace Pact, and they did not work. Since 1945 you have tried the United Nations, the Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine, NATO, SEATO, the Eisenhower Doctrine. You have tried containment. You have tried brink of war.

"All your avenues to peace are blind alleys and there is no hope or health in them.

"You have tried everything that will not work. You dip, dive, dodge, connive, threaten. You are like squirrels on a tread-mill. Faster and faster, you get nowhere. You are old, tired, confused, senile. You play the old hopeless game and you play it poorly.

"I will not have another war. I will not have America become a garrison state. I will have freedom.

"Hear me, your senators and congressmen. You are not dukes and counts appointed to rule over me. You are my servants who have served yourselves. You have not served me. Go and get me a new government which will serve my purposes. Else, I will put others in your places.

"Hear me, you president, cabinet ministers and generals. You are not high priests anointed to serve the nation-state. You were put in your places to serve me, but you have served me ill. Leave off your worship of the Nation, for it is nothing, and come serve me. For I am a child of God, created in His likeness, and I am entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

"I am he who created this government and who fixed the great offices in which you stand so small. And it was a good government for more than a hundred years which not even men like you could make bad. But its time has passed and it can no longer serve me. And men like you pervert it to ends that are not mine.

"Go, and create me a new government. Create it like unto the old government of our country. Make it federal, so that each people can keep its own ways and its own government and be governed by its own citizens. And invite all peoples to come into it who will, for those who

will not come now will come later. Do not tell me this is not the time. For it is the time.

"The time is short. The clock ticks on. Tension mounts. Go and change me this system, before it ruins me.

"Go and create me a new government—a new system. Make it a government strong but free. Give to it the care of armies and weapons, of currencies and of trade, and of such other things as all peoples have in common—the things which national governments can no longer do for us. But circle this new government round about and cross it through and through with everything of do and of do not, of can and of cannot—every last thing which the experience of mankind shows that I must have so that I may be free.

"Go to the governments of the nations, but also to their peoples. Let America bring them the glad tidings that peace can be made real, and that—once made real—it will bring in the fullness of time, to all people everywhere, the blessings of liberty and a more abundant life.

"And they will come praising you. And you will talk with them and you will write a Constitution and you will bring it to me. And, if I like it, I will approve it. And, if I do not, I will send you back to try again. And then, one day, the work will be done.

"And, when the work is done, America will have lived up to her tradition. America will have seized the opportunity. America will have given the answer."

But these things will come to pass only because you—for you are America—have accepted your responsibility. Because you, the careworn American and the confused child of God, faithless to your early promise and traitor to a thousand good intentions, have at last sought your justification and met the great challenge of your day.

*Even the youths shall faint and be weary,
and the young men shall utterly fall:
But they that wait upon the Lord shall
renew their strength;
They shall mount up with wings as Eagles.*
—ISAIAH

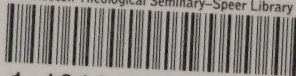
*Thy will be done—*JESUS OF NAZARETH

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